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THE VISION

OF

DANTE ALIGHIERI

Translated by

HENRY FRANCIS CARY, M.A.

PART III.—PARADISE

REVISED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY PAGET TOYNBEE, M.A., D.LITT.

WITH A FRONTISPIECE

From the Bronze Bust of Dante at NAPLES

LONDON

METHUEN & CO.

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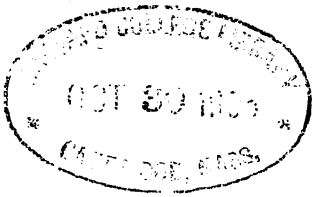

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PREFATORY NOTE

IN the present edition of Cary's *Paradise* (as in the case of the *Hell* and of the *Purgatory*) the notes have been subjected to revision. A paragraph here and there has been omitted, as being no longer strictly relevant, sundry errors have been corrected, and an occasional note has been added in square brackets. Also, the index has been recast.

In the Introduction is included an account of the attempts at translating Dante into English made by some of Cary's predecessors. Only by comparing his version with these is it possible to appreciate fully the very great merit of Cary's performance. It is no small proof of Cary's sound scholarly instinct that he was able to shake himself free from the tradition of loose paraphrase which had hitherto prevailed among translators of Dante—a failing from which even Gray (from whom, as I believe, Cary first learned to love Dante [1]) was not altogether free.

[1] Gray died (in 1771) the year before Cary was born. Cary's notes contain numerous references to Gray's knowledge of Dante.

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Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur. By Mr. *Richardson.* After an abstract of Villani's account of Ugolino (which, as well as Dante's, he characterises as "very curious and very little known"), Richardson observes :—

"The Poet carries this Story farther than the Historian could, by relating what pass'd in the Prison. This is *Dante*, who was a young man when this happened, and was Ruin'd by the Commotions of these times. . . . This great Man (in the 33d Canto of the 1st part of his *Comedia*) in his Passage thro' Hell, introduces Count *Ugolino* knawing the Head of this Treacherous and Cruel Enemy the Archbishop, and telling his own sad Story. At the appearance of Dante

La bocca solleuò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, etc.

He from the Horrid Food his Mouth withdrew,
And wiping with the Clotted, Offal hair
His shudd'ring Lips, raising his Head thus spake.
You will compel me to renew my Grief
Which e're I speak oppresses my sad Heart;
But if I Infamy accumulate
On him whose Head I knaw, I'le not forbear
To speak tho' Tears flow faster than my Words.

. . . . . .

Soon as my broken Slumbers fled, I heard
My Sons (who also were confin'd with me)
Cry in their troubled Sleep, and ask for Bread:
O you are Cruel if you do not weep
Thinking on that which you now well perceive
My Heart divin'd; If this provoke not Tears
At what are you accustomed to weep?"[1]

. . . . . .

Richardson's version of the Ugolino episode[2] was

[1] *Inferno*, xxxiii. 1-9, 37-42.

[2] Joseph Warton mentions this version of Richardson's in his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (vol. i. p. 252, ed. 1806), in which he himself gives a prose paraphrase of the episode.

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followed, some fifty years later, by a translation of the same episode by the fifth Earl of Carlisle, which was printed among the poetical pieces at the end of the *Annual Register* for 1773. About thirty years previous to this date, however, the poet Gray had also translated this episode, doubtless as an exercise at the time when he was studying Italian, *i.e.*, probably between 1737 and 1740.[1] This translation was not published during Gray's lifetime,—not indeed until more than a hundred years after his death,[2]—so that in all probability it was unknown to Cary. The following specimens (corresponding to the passages from Richardson's version given above) will show that Gray allowed himself considerable freedom in his rendering :—

From his dire Food the griesly Fellon raised
His Gore-dyed Lips, which on the clotter'd Locks
Of th' half devoured Head he wiped, and thus
Began. Would'st thou revive the deep Despair,
The Anguish, that unutter'd nathless wrings
My inmost Heart? yet if the telling may
Beget the Traitour's Infamy whom thus
I ceaseless gnaw insatiate; thou shalt see me
At once give loose to Utterance, and to Tears.

. . . . . .

The Morn had scarce commenc'd, when I awoke:
My Children (they were with me) sleep as yet
Gave not to know their Sum of Misery,

[1] In March, 1737, Gray tells West that he is "learning Italian like any dragon". Mr. Gosse assigns the Dante translation to the period between 1742 and 1744 (*Works of Gray*, vol. i. p. xvi). Mr. Tovey, with more probability, dates it several years earlier (*Letters of Gray*, vol. i. pp. 383-385).

[2] Mr. Gosse printed the lines in 1886 (*Works of Gray*, vol. i. pp. 157-160), "from a MS. in the handwriting of Mitford, in the possession of Lord Houghton".

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But yet in low and uncompleated Sounds
I heard 'em wail for Bread. Oh! thou art cruel,
Or Thou dost mourn to think, what my poor Heart
Foresaw, foreknew: oh! if thou weep not now,
Where are thy Tears?[1]

. . . . . .

Lord Carlisle's version of the same lines is as follows:—

Now from the fell repast, and horrid food,
The sinner rose, but first (the clotted blood
With hair depending from the mangled head)
His jaws he wiped, and thus he wildly said:
Ah! wilt thou then recall this scene of woe,
And teach again my scalding tears to flow?
Thou know'st not how tremendous is the tale,
My brain will madden, and my utterance fail.
But could my words bring horror and despair
To him whose bloody skull you see me tear,
Then should the voice of sweet revenge ne'er sleep,
For ever would I talk, and talking weep.

. . . . . .

I first awoke, and view'd my slumbering boys,
Poor hapless product of my nuptial joys,
Scar'd with *their* dreams, toss o'er their stony bed,
And starting scream with frightful noise for bread.
Hard is thy heart, no tears those eyes can know,
If they refuse for pangs like mine to flow.

The next English translator in point of date is William Hayley, the poet, and friend of Cowper, who in 1782 published a rendering in *terza rima*, accompanied by the Italian text, of the first three cantos of the *Inferno*. Hayley's introductory remarks to his translation, which was printed among the notes to the third Epistle of the *Essay on Epic*

[1] *Inferno*, xxxiii. 1-9, 37-42.

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Poetry, are worth recording, as showing what was the standard of opinion about Dante at that time. He says :—

"The critical dissertations that have been written on Dante are almost as numerous as those to which Homer has given birth: the Italian, like the Grecian Bard, has been the subject of the highest panegyric, and of the grossest invective. Voltaire has spoken of him with that precipitate vivacity, which so frequently led that lively Frenchman to insult the reputation of the noblest writers. In one of his entertaining letters, he says to an Italian Abbé, 'Je fais grand cas du courage, avec lequel vous avez osé dire que Dante étoit un fou et son ouvrage un monstre. . . . Le Dante pourra entrer dans les bibliothèques des curieux, mais il ne sera jamais lu.' But more temperate and candid Critics have not been wanting to display the merits of this original Poet. Mr. Warton has introduced into his last volume on English Poetry,[1] a judicious and spirited summary of Dante's performance. We have several versions of the celebrated story of Ugolino;[2] but I believe that no entire Canto of Dante has hitherto appeared in our language, though his whole work has been translated into French, Spanish and Latin verse. The three Cantos which follow, were translated a few years ago, to oblige a particular friend. The Author has since been solicited to execute an entire translation of Dante; but the extreme inequality of this Poet would render such a work a very laborious undertaking, and it appears very doubtful how far such a version would interest our country. Perhaps the reception of these Cantos may discover to the Translator the sentiments of the Public. At all events, he flatters himself that the ensuing portion of a celebrated poem may afford some pleasure from its novelty, as he has endeavoured to give the English reader an idea of Dante's peculiar manner, by adopting his triple rhyme; and he does

[1] Vol. iii. of the original edition, which was published in 1781. Warton there has an interesting allusion to Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Ugolino (first exhibited in 1773), to which his brother also refers in his work on Pope already quoted (see above, p. x, n. 2).

[2] No doubt the versions of Jonathan Richardson and the Earl of Carlisle mentioned above.

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not recollect that this mode of versification has ever appeared before in our language;[1] it has obliged him of course to make the number of translated lines correspond exactly with those of the original. The difficulties attending this metre will sufficiently show themselves, and obtain some degree of indulgence from the intelligent and candid reader."

Hayley's performance, which is by no means without merit,[2] is interesting not only as being the first instance of the use of the *terza rima* in an English version of Dante, but also as having been accompanied by the text of the original, these three cantos of the *Inferno* being the first portions of the Italian text to be printed in England.[3] That Cary was acquainted with, and appreciated, Hayley's experiment is evident from his note on *Inferno* i. 42 (inserted in the second edition of his translation, which was published in 1819), where he acknowledges his indebtedness to "Mr. Hayley's very skilful version of the first three cantos of the *Inferno*," and quotes three lines of it.[4]

[1] Hayley appears to have been ignorant of the fact that both Wyatt and Surrey wrote English poems in *terza rima*.

[2] His rendering of *Inferno* i. 22-27 (the first simile in the *Commedia*) may be given as a specimen:—

> And, as th' exhausted wretch, by fortune cast
> Safe from the stormy deep upon the shore,
> Turns to survey the perils he has past,
> So turn'd my soul, ere yet its dread was o'er,
> Back to contemplate that mysterious strait
> Where living mortal never past before.

[3] Except, of course, such extracts as were printed by Warton in his *History of English Poetry* in the summary referred to by Hayley.

[4] Ugo Foscolo, writing in the *Edinburgh Review* in February, 1818, says of Hayley's version: "Some years ago, Mr. Hayley published a translation of the first cantos of the *Inferno*, in which he endeavoured to give an idea of Dante's peculiar manner, by introducing his triple rhyme. It was written with a considerable degree of spirit and elegance; but we cannot much regret that he proceeded no further. The difficulties which he had to encounter were almost insurmountable; at least he has led us to think so, by his many deviations from the text."

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Thomas Warton, the Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, whose "judicious and spirited summary" of the *Divina Commedia* is mentioned by Hayley, shows very little real appreciation or understanding of Dante's poem. He describes it as a "wonderful compound of classical and romantic fancy, of pagan and christian theology, of real and fictitious history, of tragical and comic incidents, of familiar and heroic manners, and of satirical and sublime poetry". He allows that "its grossest improprieties discover an originality of invention, and its absurdities often border on sublimity"; but he severely blames Dante for introducing "comic and incongruous circumstances," and for his indulgence in what he terms "disgusting fooleries". Finally, he quotes with approval Voltaire's "paraphrase from the *Inferno* of the story of count Guido, in which are these inimitable lines—a Franciscan friar abandoned to Beelzebub thus exclaims :—

Monsieur de Lucifer !
Je suis un Saint ; voyez ma robe grise :
Je fus absous par le Chef de l'Eglise.
J'aurai, toujours, répondit le Démon,
Un grand respect pour l'Absolution ;
On est lavé de ses vieilles sotises,
Pourvu qu'après autres ne soient commises.
J'ai fait souvent cette distinction
A tes pareils : et, grâce à l'Italie,
Le Diable sait la Théologie.
Il dit et rit. Je ne repliquai rien
A Belzebut, il raisonnoit trop bien.
Lors il m'empoigne, et d'un bras roide et ferme

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Il appliqua sur ma triste épiderme
Vingt coups de fouet, dont bien fort il me cuit :
Que Dieu le rende à Boniface huit !

"Dante thus translated," observes Warton, "would have had many more readers than at present."

In the same year (1782) as Hayley published his experimental version of *Inferno* i.-iii., but evidently, from what Hayley says in his introduction, later in the year, appeared a thin small quarto volume entitled *The Inferno of Dante Translated*, without any indication as to the identity of the translator, save a dedication to the Right Honourable Sir Edward Walpole. The name of the author, however, was disclosed in a contemporary number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which was inserted the following notice of the book : "This translation of Danté was made by Charles Rogers,[1] Esq., a curious collector of Books, Prints and Drawings. His translation, which is literal, is not now to be had at the Booksellers."

Rogers' translation, which is chiefly remarkable as being the first complete English version of the *Inferno*, is a very poor performance.[2] For the purposes of comparison his rendering is subjoined

[1] Charles Rogers, who was seventy-one when he published his translation, was Principal Officer of the Customs. His portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds (painted in 1777, engraved in 1778 by W. Wynne Ryland) is now in the Cottonian Library at Plymouth, which contains a considerable portion of his collections. Sir Edward Walpole, to whom the translation was dedicated, was the elder brother of Horace Walpole, and held jointly with him the Collectorship of the Customs. Rogers died in 1784, the same year as Dr. Johnson.

[2] Cary mentions Rogers' translation in a letter written in February, 1814, shortly after the publication of his own translation, and quotes Rogers' absurd rendering of *Inf.* xxxi. 61-62 :

Above the bank (which served to conceal
Like breeches all the parts below the waist) !

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of the same passages from the thirty-third canto of which the versions of Richardson, Gray and Lord Carlisle have already been given[1] :—

His mouth this Sinner from the fell repast
Withdrew, and wip'd it with that hair he'd torn
From the head's hinder part; then thus began:
"You me request to that deep grief renew,
Which my heart tortures 'fore I tell the tale:
But if my words base fruits of infamy
Can to this Traitor whom I gnaw produce,
Wailing with tears, I shall the whole relate.
. . . . . .
When I, ere yet 'twas morn, awaken'd was,
I heard my children in their sleep complain,
And ask for bread. You must most cruel be,
If with due feeling you do not lament,
Thinking on that my bleeding heart presag'd.
If not for this, for what will you e'er grieve?"

Three years after the publication of Rogers' work, there appeared (in 1785) in Dublin a translation of the *Inferno*, "in English Verse with Historical Notes and the Life of Dante," by the Rev. Henry Boyd; which seven years later was followed by a translation of the whole of the *Commedia* (3 vols. 8vo, London, 1802) by the same author. Some specimens of Boyd's translation have already been given in the Introduction to the *Purgatory*.[2] It will suffice to give here his rendering of the selected passages from the Ugolino episode, which will serve as a sample of his favourite device of

[1] Rogers was acquainted with Richardson's version of this episode, as well as with "the very elegant and poetical Translation of it in Rhyme" by the Earl of Carlisle, both of which he mentions in a note (the only one in the book) to Canto xxxiii. He also, like Warton, refers to the picture of Ugolino by Sir Joshua Reynolds, whom he styles "the, in every particular, transcendent President of the Royal Academy".

[2] Page xiv, note 1.

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"dilating (to quote one of his reviewers)[1] the scanty expressions of his author into perspicuous and flowing diction":—

Slowly the sinner left his bloody meal,
Then, gazing upwards from the depths of Hell,
He smooth'd the clotted hair, and thus reply'd:
Mortal! thou bid'st me recollect my doom,
An horrid scene! that lives beyond the tomb,
And stops my speech with sorrow's whelming tide.

And, oh! if aught it grieves the sentenc'd dead,
In other worlds their infamy to spread,
Attend—but first the gushing tear will flow:
. . . . . .
Ere smiling Morn had purpled o'er the sky
I woke, and heard my children faintly cry,
And all demanding food, tho' still asleep:
Thy heart is marble if a father's woe
It feels not now! what bids your sorrows flow,
If for such dire distress you fail to weep!

After an interval of thirteen years another English version of the hackneyed Ugolino episode appeared, this time accompanied by a translation of the fifth canto of the *Inferno* as well. The author of this performance was the eccentric "virtuoso," Henry Constantine Jennings (d. 1819), better known as "Dog Jennings," from a famous antique marble

[1] In the *Monthly Review* for March, 1805. A previous writer in the same review (December, 1785) had said: "We cannot say much in praise of this work. The translator's language is often obscure, sometimes ungrammatical. His poetry wants animation, and instead of shading or mending the faults of Dante (which were those of his age), he renders them more conspicuous and more unpleasing." Another reviewer, on the other hand (in the *Critical Review* for March, 1803), says: "The dulness of Dante is often enlivened by Mr. Boyd with profuse ornaments of his own, by which he is rather elevated than degraded". And again, "The translator is as enthusiastic and mystical as Dante himself, but more sublime". (!) Boyd's "equable easy style of versification, commonly somewhat dull, but always fluent," also meets with approval from the critic of the *Edinburgh Review* (January, 1803).

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dog which he discovered in Rome, and which he afterwards sold in England for a thousand guineas.[1] The translation, which seems to have been made in 1794, was printed in 1798 in a volume entitled *Summary and Free Reflections, in which the Great Outline only, and Principal Features, of several Interesting Subjects, are impartially traced, and candidly examined.* The estimate of Dante given in his prefatory note by Jennings, who it must be borne in mind was one of Cary's immediate predecessors as a translator of Dante, will enable us to judge of the immense advance made by Cary in his feeling for, and understanding of, the poet of the *Divina Commedia.* As far as actual dates are concerned there are but ten years between Cary and Jennings, but in point of judgment and style and scholarship there is a whole century between them.

Jennings introduces his "Translation of the Fifth Canto of Dante's Inferno, and of the entire Scene and Narrative of Hugolino" as follows :—

"Dante's Poem of Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso, is certainly *Poetry:* and though written at so early and uncultivated a Period as that of the thirteenth Century, is equal to any Thing that could reasonably be expected from so grating a Subject, even at the best Times of modern Literature.

"It is, however, upon the Whole a painful Undertaking to read it regularly through: for, independent of the manifold Repetition, and uninteresting or extravagant Variation of the same nauseous Descriptions; the principal Object of its Merit, at the Time it was written, consisted in the Satire, aimed against the surviving Reputation of such of his

[1] Jennings and his dog formed the subject of conversation between Burke and Johnson at one of the meetings of the Literary Club. (See the record in Boswell's *Johnson*, under date 3rd April, 1778.)

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Enemies as were departed during the busiest Period of the Author's Life, which, considering too the Gothic Language it is written in, has, by a Lapse of Five Hundred Years, almost precluded any just Claim to its present Power of amusing, if its Reader be not a meer Antiquarian.

"I except, however, the following Canto, and the consummately pathetic Narrative of Hugolino, with, perhaps, Half a Dozen more short Passages; and it is for the above Reasons, that this Canto only, and the Hugolino, are attempted.

"The first is comprised in a consistent *ensemble*, and, besides the little Novel of Francesca (the most elegant in the whole Piece), it conveys a sufficient Idea of Dante's Management throughout the Poem. The Hugolino is unique in its Kind."

Of the translation itself, which is accompanied by occasional notes,[1] the reader may judge from the following sample :—

THE NARRATIVE OF COUNT HUGOLINO.

Taken from the End of Dante's 32d Canto of Inferno, and the greater Part of the 33d Canto, and here united so as to form one consistent *Ensemble*.

Two in Pit of Ice, we, now, behold,
Grappled so close, that, to the under Head,
One seem'd a Cov'ring, but, on nearer view,
Greedy Devourer prov'd, of th' others Flesh.

[1] Jennings' notes are in the same style as his preamble. On Minos (*Inf.* v. 4-14) he writes: "I have purposely omitted the quaint Idea of his manifesting the Degree of Depth that the Delinquents were respectively condemned to, by the Number of Turns, into which he, at every Sentence passed upon them, entwined his own Body with his tail; being rather shocked to think that so elegant a Poet should have so wantonly given him One, and of such enormous Length as to go so many Times round him." And on the murder of Paolo and Francesca: "This melancholy Event, in which Dante was nearly interested . . . seems to be recorded by him, with the sole view of illustrating by actual, and then recent example, the dangerous Practice of young People's reading Romances together in private; and still more so, where there already exists an Inclination between the Parties, as in the present Instance."

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Ev'n so, deathsmitten Tydeus, vengefully,
His Teeth infix't on the yet bleeding Brow
Of Theban Menalippus; seeking thence,
Atrocious Consolation! O, thou Brute,
I cried, who thus, thy still unsated Wrath
Beastily shew'st, explain, if Words can do't,
What Provocation adequate to this
Was giv'n; for, cou'd I think such Vengeance just,
On my return to Earth, thy Injuries,
To all, I'd manifest. His gorey Mouth,
From the raw Neck, he rais'd, and with the Hair
O'th mangled Head, wiping it, thus replied.
The Terms thou profer'st, tempt me to renew
Past Misery, but, if this Traitor's Shame
It tends t' eternallize, 'tis amply paid.
. . . . . .
Angrily,
By meer Distraction mov'd, both Hands I bite:
My dearest Children, by th' Appearance struck,
Thus feelingly address their tortur'd Sire.
If, the ungovernable want of Food
Urges that desperate Act, behold us fix't,
The lesser Ill to chuse, these hapless Limbs,
From thee, with Flesh were cloth'd, to thee again
Our miserable Substance we resign.
Effectually! thus quieted, that whole Day
And all the next, not to awaken Griefs,
We silent sat, the fourth, my Gaddo screems,
Father assist me; Dying at my Feet!
I'th fifth Day and the Sixth, my other three
Remaining Children separately drop't,
Full in my View: for yet I kept my Sight.
It fail'd at length, and faintly reeling down
O'er their cold Bodies, still their Names I call'd
For three, long, racking Days: Inanity,
Than ev'n my Griefs more potent, Grief, at length
Ended. He now, most like a famish't Dog,
Sternly, his Meal resum'd. O Pisa, Pisa!
Reproach of that harmonious Terret'ry
Where you exist unpunish't. Hugolin
Suppose a Traitor; what Delinquency

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Cou'd the poor Boys involve in his hard Fate?
O Pisa, Pisa! opprobrious Pisa.

In the year 1804 appeared yet another version of the Ugolino episode, accompanied by a version of the third Canto of the *Inferno*. This was published in a volume entitled *Fables: consisting of select parts from Dante, Berni, Chaucer, and Ariosto. Imitated in English Heroic Verse* by Richard Wharton, Esq. M.P. This gentleman, who sat in four parliaments (1802, 1806, 1807, 1812) as member for the City of Durham, was the third son of Gray's friend and correspondent, Dr. Thomas Wharton, of Old Park, County Durham. He is mentioned as "Dicky" in Gray's letter to Dr. Wharton of December 28, 1767. The Ugolino episode in Richard Wharton's version closes with the following six lines, the last four of which do not represent anything in the original :—

The Spectre ceas'd: and kindling with disdain
Snatch'd the torn scalp with eager fangs again.
Still as he gnaws, the flesh, the vessels grow;
Still as he quaffs the purple currents flow:
Still o'er th' eternal wound the fibres spread:
Such is their mutual doom: and such th' atonement paid.

To turn from extravagances and travesties such as these to the translation of Cary, the first part of which appeared in 1805, is to enter upon a new era in English Dante literature. Cary once and for all made Dante an English possession; not by the surpassing merits of his translation, which in many respects is unsatisfying, but by his unflinching loyalty to his original, and by the sound sense

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and scholarship of his notes. In February 1818, after the complete work had been before the public for several years, and after attention had been called to its merits in a lecture by Coleridge,[1] a review of Cary's translation appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which the secret of Cary's success is explained with great discrimination :—

"Of all the translators of Dante with whom we are acquainted," says the reviewer, "Mr. Cary is the most successful; and we cannot but consider his work as a great acquisition to the English reader. It is executed with a fidelity almost without example; and, though the measure he has adopted conveys no idea of the original stanza, it is perhaps the best for his purpose, and what Dante himself would have chosen, had he written in English, and in a later day. . . . Throughout Mr. Cary discovers the will and the power to do justice to his author. He has omitted nothing, he has added nothing; and though here and there his inversions are ungraceful, and his phrases a little obsolete, he walks not unfrequently by the side of his master, and sometimes perhaps goes beyond him."

The writer of this review[2] was Ugo Foscolo, himself an ardent student of Dante, and, as an Italian domiciled in England, one eminently qualified to judge of the merits of an English translation of the masterpiece of Italian literature.

The disadvantages of the form of verse selected by Cary for his translation are well described by a

[1] See Introduction to the *Hell*, pp. lix-lx.

[2] In amusing contrast to this favourable estimate of Cary's work is the following notice which appeared in the *Critical Review* in 1814, shortly after the publication of the complete translation :— "The study of the Italian Language ranks so essentially among the accomplishments of the present day, that we apprehend those possessing the advantage of reading *Dante* in the original language, would never barter his chaste beauties for the fanciful portrait of an English artist. The subject is sublime—not so the prevailing language of this translator."

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writer in the *Quarterly Review*[1] some eight years later (in 1826) :—

"Mr. Cary's version admirably preserves the austere character, the over-mastered feeling, the dignity and the majestic repose of its original. One drawback only there is from the admiration which we profess for this work—we cannot but regret that Mr. Cary should have chosen what Dr. Johnson has termed the most diffusive of all species of versification, as the representative of that which is among the most succinct. Every one acquainted with the *terza rima* knows that in this metre, with the necessary exception of the conclusion, the sense as regularly closes with the triplet, as it does, in the elegiac measure of the Latins, with the pentameter. Nothing, therefore, can afford a stronger contrast to such a metre than blank verse, however judiciously it may be managed; and surely the dress of the original and that of the portrait should be similar, if they be not the same. A very short extract taken from the *Inferno* will illustrate our opinion. It is the meeting of Dante with Manto, the daughter of Tiresias, a passage eminently characteristic of the poet's most favourite style of description.[2] Now Mr. Cary's translation of this is very good, but does not give so exact an idea of the original as it might. Dante marches over his ground with a sort of spectral stalk; for each triplet is a separate pace; Mr. Cary moves vigorously and gravely, but he does not (as we would have him) tread in the exact steps of his predecessor, nor yet follow him quite fast enough. A phrase in the Italian poet should be the watchword of his translators: *Sie breve ed arguto.*" [3]

Cary differed from his predecessors, and consequently succeeded where they failed, in that he

[1] A writer in the same review three years before makes the interesting statement that "Dante was brought into fashion in England by Sir Joshua Reynolds' Ugolino, and by some other accidental circumstances, but he will never be popular; and notwithstanding Mr. Cary's translation—the best we ever read of any work—we believe that his success amongst us is rapidly declining". This last sentence may have been true of the study of Dante in England in 1823; it is certainly not true of the England of to-day, witness the ever-increasing numbers of Dante books on English publishers' lists.

[2] *Inferno*, xx. 55-72.

[3] *Purg.* xiii. 78.

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approached Dante not with the patronising superiority of an eighteenth century dilettante, but with the reverence due to a great poet and to a great classic. He did not disdain to bestow upon Dante the labour and love which other scholars had been accustomed to bestow upon the masterpieces of ancient literature. During twenty years, the best years of his life, he was familiarising himself with the *Divina Commedia* and with the other works of Dante; and at the same time, as his *Journal* shows, he was reading widely in classical and in mediæval literature, and collecting the material for the scholarly notes, which make his edition of Dante a monument of learning and research.

When at last his translation was published Cary did not regard his labours as finished, but continued to revise and correct the text, and to supplement the notes for successive editions,[1] down to within six months of his death at the age of seventy-two.

Cary's work, which won both for Dante and for himself a permanent place in English literature, was truly a labour of love—by him might have been echoed to Dante himself the cry of Dante five centuries before to his beloved Virgil :—

> O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
> Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore,
> Che m' ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume.

[1] His translation of the *Inferno* alone appeared, in two volumes, in 1805-6; the translation of the whole of the *Commedia* was first published in three volumes 32mo, in 1814; and was reprinted, with additions and corrections, three times during Cary's lifetime, *viz.*, in 1819 (in three volumes 8vo), in 1831 (in three volumes 12mo), and in 1844 (in one volume 12mo).

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May it avail me, that I long with zeal
Have sought thy volume, and with love immense
Have conn'd it o'er!

II

THE "PARADISO".

ACCORDING to Dante's conception, which is based upon the Ptolemaic system, the Universe consists of nine spheres or Heavens, concentric with the Earth, round which they revolve, it being fixed at the centre.[1]

The earth is surrounded by the spheres of air and fire, the latter being in immediate contact with that of the Moon,[2] which is the lowest of the nine Heavens. Beyond the Heaven of the Moon come in order those of Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Fixed Stars, and last of all that of the *Primum Mobile* or First Movement. Each of these Heavens revolves with a velocity which increases in proportion to its distance from the Earth. Each of the planets revolves in the epicycle [3] of its own Heaven, except the Sun, which revolves round the Earth. The *Primum Mobile* (or Crystalline Heaven) governs the general motion of the Heavens from East to West, and by it all place and time are ultimately measured.[4]

[1] *Convivio*, iii. 5, ll. 57-8.
[2] *Purgatorio*, xviii. 28; *Paradiso*, i. 115; *Convivio*, iii. 3, ll. 11-13.
[3] An epicycle is a small circle whose centre is on the circumference of a larger circle along which it travels. In the solar system the Moon's path about the Earth forms an epicycle in respect of the orbit of the Earth around the Sun.
[4] *Paradiso*, xxvii. 115-120; xxviii. 70-71; *Convivio*, ii. 6, ll. 145-147; ii. 15, ll. 12-13.

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Each of the Heavens is presided over by one of the Angelic Orders, and exercises its special influence on earthly affairs.[1]

The three lowest Heavens are allotted by Dante to the souls of those whose life on Earth was rendered imperfect through their having yielded to the temptations of the world. The next four are allotted to the souls of those whose actions were wholly directed by virtuous motives. The last two Heavens have no special occupants assigned to them, but serve apparently as common places of meeting, the one to the blessed spirits, the other to Angels. Finally, beyond and outside of all the other Heavens lies the Empyrean, an incorporeal and motionless Heaven, where there is neither time nor place, but light only ;[2] this is the special abode of the Deity and the resting-place of the Saints.[3] The latter, arranged in the form of the petals of a white Rose, gaze upon the beatific vision of the Deity, who is surrounded by the nine orders of the three Angelic Hierarchies.

Each of the first seven spheres or Heavens is representative of, and corresponds to, one of the seven Liberal Arts, the other three corresponding to Natural, Moral, and Divine Science (or Theology) respectively.

The general scheme of Dante's Paradise is as follows :—

The First Heaven, that of the Moon, which is

[1] *Paradiso*, ii. 127-129; *Convivio*, ii. 2, ll. 62-63; ii. 5, ll. 21-24; ii. 6, ll. 105-116.
[2] *Paradiso*, xxvii. 106-120; xxx. 29.
[3] *Convivio*, ii. 4, ll. 28-30.

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presided over by Angels, and is representative of Grammar, is tenanted by the Spirits of those who failed to keep their holy vows.

The Second Heaven, that of Mercury, which is presided over by Archangels, and is representative of Logic, is tenanted by the Spirits of those who for love of fame wrought great deeds upon Earth.

The Third Heaven, that of Venus, which is presided over by Principalities, and is representative of Rhetoric, is tenanted by the Spirits of those who upon Earth were lovers.

The Fourth Heaven, that of the Sun, which is presided over by Powers, and is representative of Arithmetic, is tenanted by the Spirits of those who loved wisdom.

The Fifth Heaven, that of Mars, which is presided over by Virtues, and is representative of Music, is tenanted by the Spirits of those who fought for the faith.

The Sixth Heaven, that of Jupiter, which is presided over by Dominions, and is representative of Geometry, is tenanted by the Spirits of those who loved justice.

The Seventh Heaven, that of Saturn, which is presided over by Thrones, and is representative of Astrology, is tenanted by the Spirits of those who lived in contemplation of holy things.

The Eighth Heaven, that of the Fixed Stars, is presided over by Cherubim, and is representative of Natural Science.

The Ninth Heaven, that of the *Primum Mobile*,

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or the Crystalline Heaven, is presided over by Seraphim, and is representative of Moral Science.

The Tenth Heaven, that of the Empyrean, is representative of Divine Science, and is the abode of the Deity and of the Spirits of the Blessed. The latter, as has already been explained, are arranged in the petals of a vast white Rose, which, according to Dante's description, resembles a kind of amphitheatre, the centre being formed of a sea of light.

The arrangement of the seats of the Elect in the Celestial Rose is explained by St. Bernard as follows[1] :—

On the highest tier, at the point where the light is most dazzling, is seated the Virgin Mary, with more than a thousand Angels hovering around her.[2] Next below Mary, who healed the wound inflicted upon Man at the Fall, sits Eve, who was the cause of the wound.[3] Below Eve, on the third tier, sits Rachel, with Beatrice at her side; on successive tiers below them being Sarah, Rebekah, Judith, Ruth, and other Hebrew women.[4] On the opposite side, facing Mary, on the same tier, is seated St. John the Baptist; below whom on successive tiers are St. Francis, St. Benedict, St. Augustine, and others.[5] These two lines (from Mary downwards on one side, and from the Baptist downwards on the other) form as it were a wall, which divides the Rose into two parts.[6] In one part are the seats (all filled) of those who believed in

[1] *Paradiso*, xxxi. 65-xxxii. 138.
[2] *Ibid.*, xxxi. 115-138.
[3] *Ibid.*, xxxii. 4-6.
[4] *Ibid.*, xxxii. 7-18.
[5] *Ibid.*, xxxii. 31-36.
[6] *Ibid.*, xxxii. 20-21, 28-31.

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Christ to come, *i.e.*, those who were under the Old Testament dispensation ; in the other are the seats (only partially filled) of those who believed in Christ already come, *i.e.*, those who were under the New Testament dispensation ;[1] these, when all the seats are filled, will be equal in number to those on the opposite tier.[2] The lowest tiers are filled by infants, who were saved, not by their own merits, but through Baptism by the merit of Christ.[3] On the left hand of Mary is seated Adam, the Father of the Old Covenant, and on her right side is St. Peter, the Father of the New Covenant, these two being regarded as the "roots," as it were, of the Rose.[4] Next to St. Peter is seated St. John the Evangelist, and next to Adam is Moses.[5] Opposite to St. Peter, on the right of St. John the Baptist, sits Anne, the type of the contemplative life, with her eyes fixed upon her daughter Mary.[6] Opposite to Adam, on the left of St. John the Baptist, sits Lucy,[7] the type of the active life, who dispatched Beatrice to Dante's assistance at the outset of his journey.[8]

The time occupied by Dante in his passage through Paradise is estimated at twenty-four hours.

"In entering upon the study of the *Paradiso*," says a recent writer,[9] "we enter the Holy of

1 *Paradiso*, xxxii. 22-27; *cf. Paradiso*, xxx. 131-132.
2 *Ibid.*, xxxii. 38-39.
3 *Ibid.*, xxxii. 40-48.
4 *Ibid.*, xxxii. 118-126.
5 *Ibid.*, xxxii. 127-132.
6 *Ibid.*, xxxii. 133-135.
7 *Ibid.*, xxxii. 136-138.
8 *Inferno*, ii. 100-108.
9 The Bishop of Ripon, in the Introduction to *Readings on the Paradiso of Dante*, by the Honble. William Warren Vernon, 1900, Vol. i. pp. xix, foll.

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Holies of the Divine Comedy. Here, if anywhere, we need the moral preparedness which is indispensable to the deeper apprehension of the Poet's meaning. Dante himself warns off flippant and worldly-minded readers. Only those sustained by Heavenly strength can wisely follow.

> Ye other few who have outstretch'd the neck
> Timely for food of angels, on which here
> They live, yet never know satiety ;
> Through the deep brine ye fearless may put out
> Your vessel.
>
> *Paradiso*, ii. 11-15.

"The visions here disclosed cannot be told in the language of earth (*Paradiso*, i. 4-6), and the earthly soul cannot enjoy them ; that gladness is reserved for the childlike in heart (*Par.* xxx. 73-118) ; those who can enter into this joy forget the heated passions and vulgar interests of the world (*Par.* x. 124-127 ; xi. 1-12). We are not surprised therefore to find ourselves in the midst of altered conditions. The toil of the *Purgatorio* is left behind : there progress was effort ; in the *Paradiso* it is no longer due to human exertion, but to a divine impulse ; the traveller has but to surrender himself to the happy conditions around him, and a celestial power carries him on. To move upwards is now as natural to the transfigured pilgrim as the fall of water downwards was natural on earth. (*Par.* i. 136-138).

"The power thus to enter the new conditions depends upon the change in the pilgrim. The

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man with the risen soul can rise. The spiritualised being mounts instinctively Godward, drawn by that love to which it bears such sweet and strong affinity (*Par.* i. 73-75). The pilgrim so transfigured can traverse the wonderful realm that is full of light, music and smiles. Light dwells there: and the light of that day is sevenfold: but it is light which displays itself in such sweet changefulness that there is no weariness, no monotony, no 'dark from excessive bright'. There is movement there, but it is movement so rapid that it does not seem movement. There is rest there, but it is not stagnation: it is the active rest of happily harmonized powers. There is music there: the air thrills with it, but it never bewilders: it steals upon the ear in modulated and well discriminated harmony. Everywhere the heaven seems to smile.

> One universal smile it seem'd of all things.
> (*Par.* xxvii. 6.)

This is not surprising, for it is the realm where love apparels itself in smiles (*Par.* xx. 13). And all things there take on an outward beauty, because filled with the pure love and unalloyed goodness which is at the heart of things."

Such is the region into which Dante now invites us to follow him, those of us who are attuned aright. It is from the nature of things a region less abounding in human interest, farther removed from human passions and from human griefs, than the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*. But it would be

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a mistake to suppose that the element of human interest is wanting. The historical retrospect of Justinian (in the sixth canto) ;—the story (in the same canto) of the humble Romeo, who advanced the four daughters of a Provençal count to be queens, and was left by his thankless master to beg his bread ;—Dante's interview (in the eighth canto) with his royal friend, Charles Martel of Hungary, who, like Casella in the *Purgatorio*,[1] quotes one of Dante's own poems to him ;—the biographies (in the eleventh and twelfth cantos) of the two champions of the Church, the one "seraphic in ardour," the other a "cherubic light of wisdom" : St. Francis, "the lover of Poverty," and St. Dominic, "the familiar of Christ" ;—Cacciaguida's account (in the fifteenth and sixteenth cantos) of the ancient city of Florence and of the simple life of its inhabitants in the days when he was a Florentine ;—his impressive forecast (in the seventeenth canto) of the doom of exile which awaited his descendant Dante, how he should leave behind him all that man holds most dear, and should prove how salt is the savour of another's bread, and how hard the pathway of another's stair ;—the denunciation (in the eighteenth canto) by the Eagle, in the Heaven of Jupiter, of the iniquities and follies of the reigning sovereigns of Europe ;—the tremendous invective (in the twenty-seventh canto) of St. Peter, whereat the whole heaven

[1] *Purgatorio*, ii. 112.

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glows crimson with indignation, against Pope Boniface, "he that usurps on earth my place, my place, my place; and has made of my burial-place a sewer of blood and of filth";—such passages as these, replete with human interests, awakening human sympathies, attract the casual reader of Dante's poem, and by such passages the *Paradiso* is best known. But it is not for these alone that the last cantica of the *Divine Comedy* is read, or is worth reading. To the true lover of Dante this latest creation of the poet's *alta fantasia* is attractive in a higher sense. To him it appeals, as it appealed to Shelley, as "the most glorious imagination of modern poetry—a perpetual hymn of everlasting love".[1]

Dante, the poet of the fourteenth century, who ranked himself as the equal of Homer and of Virgil,[2] is by the judgment of posterity, matured through six centuries, placed in the highest rank among poets of all ages. If his supremacy be challenged in the twentieth century, it can be challenged by Shakespeare alone.

[1] Shelley's *Defence of Poetry*.

[2] *Inferno*, iv. 100-102,

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THE VISION OF DANTE

PARADISE

CANTO I

ARGUMENT

The Poet ascends with Beatrice towards the first heaven; and is, by her, resolved of certain doubts which arise in his mind.

His glory, by whose might all things are moved,
Pierces the universe,[1] and in one part
Sheds more resplendence, elsewhere less. In heaven,
That largeliest of his light partakes, was I,
Witness of things, which, to relate again,
Surpasseth power of him who comes from thence;
For that, so near approaching its desire,
Our intellect is to such depth absorb'd,
That memory cannot follow. Nathless all,

[1] *Pierces the universe.*] Per l' universo penetra, etc.

——his magnetic beam, that gently warms
The universe, and to each inward part
With gentle penetration, though unseen,
Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep.
Milton P. L. b. iii. 586.

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That in my thoughts I of that sacred realm
Could store, shall now [1] be matter of my song.
Benign Apollo! [2] this last labour aid;
And make me such a vessel of thy worth,
As thy own laurel claims, of me beloved.
Thus far [3] hath one of steep Parnassus' brows
Sufficed me; henceforth, there is need of both
For my remaining enterprize. Do thou [4]
Enter into my bosom, and there breathe
So, as when Marsyas [5] by thy hand was dragg'd
Forth from his limbs, unsheathed. O power divine!
If thou to me of thine impart so much,
That of that happy realm the shadow'd form
Traced in my thoughts I may set forth to view;
Thou shalt behold me of thy favour'd tree
Come to the foot, and crown myself with leaves:
For to that honour thou, and my high theme
Will fit me. If but seldom, mighty Sire!
To grace his triumph, gathers thence a wreath

[1] *Shall now.*] Sarà ora materia del mio canto.

Shall be the copious matter of my song.
Milton, P. L. b. iii. 413.

[2] *Benign Apollo.*] Chaucer has imitated this invocation very closely, at the beginning of the Third Booke of Fame.

If, divine vertue, thou
Wilt helpe me to shewe now
That in my head ymarked is,
. . . . . .
Thou shalt see me go as blive
Unto the next laurer I see,
And kisse it, for it is thy tree.
Now entre thou my breast anone.

[3] *Thus far.*] He appears to mean nothing more than that this part of his poem will require a greater exertion of his powers than the former.

[4] *Do thou.*] Make me thine instrument; and, through me, utter such sound as when thou didst contend with Marsyas.

[5] *Marsyas.*] Ovid, Met. lib. vi. fab. 7. Compare Boccaccio, Il Filocopo. lib. v. p. 25. v. ii. Ediz. Fir. 1723. "Egli nel mio petto entri," etc.—"May he enter my bosom, and let my voice sound like his own, when he made that daring mortal deserve to come forth unsheathed from his limbs."

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Cæsar, or bard [1] (more shame for human wills
Depraved), joy to the Delphic god must spring
From the Peneian foliage, when one breast
Is with such thirst inspired. From a small spark [2]
Great flame hath risen: after me, perchance,
Others with better voice may pray, and gain,
From the Cyrrhæan city, answer kind.

Through divers passages, the world's bright lamp
Rises to mortals; but through that [3] which joins
Four circles with the threefold cross, in best
Course, and in happiest constellation [4] set,
He comes; and, to the worldly wax, best gives
Its temper and impression. Morning there,[5]
Here eve was well nigh by such passage made;
And whiteness had o'erspread that hemisphere,
Blackness the other part; when to the left [6]
I saw Beatrice turn'd, and on the sun

[1] *Cæsar, or bard.*] So Petrarch, Son. Par. Prima.

Arbor vittoriosa trionfale,
Onor d' imperadori e di poeti

And Frezzi, Il Quadrir. lib. iii. cap. 14.

——alloro,
Che imperatori e' poeti corona.

And Spenser, F. Q. b. i. c. 1. st. 9.

The laurel, meed of mighty conquerours
And poets sage.

[2] *From a small spark.*]

——πολλάν τ' ὄρει πῦρ ἐξ ἑνὸς
Σπέρματος ἐνθορὸν αἰστωσεν ὕλαν.

Upon the mountain from one spark hath leapt
The fire, that hath a mighty forest burn'd. *Pindar, Pyth.* iii. 67.

[3] *Through that.*] "Where the four circles, the horizon, the zodiac, the equator, and the equinoctial colure join; the last three intersecting each other so as to form three crosses, as may be seen in the armillary sphere."

[4] *In happiest constellation.*] Aries. Some understand the planet Venus by the "miglior stella".

[5] *Morning there.*] It was morning where he then was, and about eventide on the earth.

[6] *To the left.*] Being in the opposite hemisphere to ours, Beatrice, that she may behold the rising sun, turns herself to the left.

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Gazing, as never eagle fix'd his ken.
As from the first a second beam [1] is wont
To issue, and reflected upwards rise,
Even as a pilgrim bent on his return ;
So of her act, that through the eyesight pass'd
Into my fancy, mine was form'd : and straight,
Beyond our mortal wont, I fix'd mine eyes
Upon the sun. Much is allow'd us there,
That here exceeds our power ; thanks to the place
Made [2] for the dwelling of the human kind.

I suffer'd it not long ; and yet so long,
That I beheld it bickering sparks around,
As iron that comes boiling from the fire.[3]
And suddenly upon the day appear'd [4]

[1] *As from the first a second beam.*] "Like a reflected sunbeam," which he compares to a pilgrim hastening homewards.

Ne simil tanto mai raggio secondo
Dal primo uscì. *Filicaja*, canz. xv. st. 4.

Sicut vir in peregrinatione constitutus, omni studio, omnique conatu domum redire festinat, ac retrorsum non respicit sed ad domum, quam reliquerat, reverti desiderat. *Alberici Visio*, § 25.

[2] *Made.*] And therefore best adapted, says Venturi, to the good temperament and vigour of the human body and its faculties. The Poet speaks of the terrestrial paradise where he then was.

[3] *As iron that comes boiling from the fire.*] Ardentem, et scintillas emittentem, ac si ferrum cum de fornace trahitur. *Alberici Visio*, § 5. This simile is repeated § 16. So Milton, P. L. b. iii. 594.

——— As glowing iron with fire.

[4] *Upon the day appear'd.*]

——— If the heaven had ywonne
All new of God another sunne.
Chaucer, First Booke of Fame.

E par ch' aggiunga un altro sole al cielo.
Ariosto, O. F. c. x. st. 109.

Ed ecco un lustro lampeggiar d' intorno
Che sole a sole aggiunse e giorno a giorno.
Marino, Adone. c. xi. st. 27.

Quando a paro col sol ma più lucente
L' angelo gli apparì sull' oriente. *Tasso, G. L.* c. i.

——— seems another morn
Risen on mid-noon. *Milton, P. L.* b. v. 311.

Compare Euripides, Ion. 1550. Ἀνθήλιον πρόσωπον.

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A day new-risen ; as he, who hath the power,
Had with another sun bedeck'd the sky.
Her eyes fast fix'd on the eternal wheels,[1]
Beatrice stood unmoved ; and I with ken
Fix'd upon her, from upward gaze removed,
At her aspect, such inwardly became
As Glaucus,[2] when he tasted of the herb
That made him peer among the ocean gods :
Words may not tell of that transhuman change ;
And therefore let the example serve, though weak,
For those whom grace hath better proof in store.
If[3] I were only what thou didst create,
Then newly, Love ! by whom the heaven is ruled ;
Thou know'st, who by thy light didst bear me up.
Whenas the wheel which thou dost ever guide,
Desired Spirit ! with its harmony,[4]
Temper'd of thee and measured, charm'd mine ear
Then seem'd to me so much of heaven[5] to blaze
With the sun's flame, that rain or flood ne'er made

[1] *Eternal wheels.*] The heavens, eternal, and always circling.

[2] *As Glaucus.*] Ovid, Met. lib. xiii. fab. 9. Plato, in the tenth book of the Republic, makes a very noble comparison from Glaucus, but applies it differently. Edit. Bipont. vol. vii. p. 317. Berkeley appears not to have been aware of the passage, when he says that "Proclus compares the soul, in her descent, invested with growing prejudices, to Glaucus diving to the bottom of the sea, and there contracting divers coats of sea-weed, coral, and shells, which stick close to him, and conceal his true shape." *Siris*, Ed. 1744. p. 151.

[3] *If.*] "Thou, O divine Spirit, knowest whether I had not risen above my human nature, and were not merely such as thou hadst then formed me."

[4] *Harmony.*] The harmony of the spheres.

> And after that the melodie herd he
> That cometh of thilke speris thryis three,
> That welles of musike ben and melodie
> In this world here, and cause of harmonie.
> *Chaucer, The Assemble of Foules.*

> —— In their motion harmony divine
> So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
> Listens delighted. *Milton, P. L.* b. v. 627.

[5] *So much of heaven.*] The sphere of fire, as Lombardi well explains it.

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A lake so broad. The newness of the sound,
And that great light, inflamed me with desire,
Keener than e'er was felt, to know their cause.
Whence she, who saw me, clearly as myself,
To calm my troubled mind, before I ask'd,
Open'd her lips, and gracious thus began:
"With false imagination thou thyself
Makest dull; so that thou seest not the thing,
Which thou hadst seen, had that been shaken off.
Thou art not on the earth as thou believest;
For lightning, scaped from its own proper place,
Ne'er ran, as thou hast hither now return'd."
Although divested of my first-raised doubt
By those brief words accompanied with smiles,
Yet in new doubt was I entangled more,
And said: "Already satisfied, I rest
From admiration deep; but now admire
How I above those lighter bodies rise."
Whence, after utterance of a piteous sigh
She towards me bent her eyes, with such a look,
As on her frenzied child a mother casts;
Then thus began: "Among themselves all things
Have order; and from hence the form,[1] which makes
The universe resemble God. In this
The higher creatures see the printed steps
Of that eternal worth, which is the end
Whither the line is drawn.[2] All natures lean,
In this their order, diversly; some more,
Some less approaching to their primal source.
Thus they to different havens are moved on

[1] *From hence the form.*] This order it is, that gives to the universe the form of unity, and therefore of resemblance to God.
[2] *Whither the line is drawn.*] All things, as they have their beginning from the Supreme Being, so are they referred to Him again.

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Through the vast sea of being, and each one
With instinct given, that bears it in its course:
This to the lunar sphere directs the fire;
This moves the hearts of mortal animals;
This the brute earth together knits, and binds.
Nor only creatures, void of intellect,
Are aim'd at by this bow; but even those,
That have intelligence and love, are pierced.
That Providence, who so well orders all,
With her own light makes ever calm the heaven,[1]
In which the substance, that hath greatest speed,[2]
Is turn'd: and thither now, as to our seat
Predestined, we are carried by the force
Of that strong cord, that never looses dart
But at fair aim and glad. Yet it is true,
That as, oft-times, but ill accords the form
To the design of art, through sluggishness[3]

[1] *The heaven.*] The empyrean, which is always motionless.
[2] *The substance, that hath greatest speed.*] The primum mobile.
[3] *Through sluggishness.*]

Perch' a risponder la materia è sorda.

So Filicaja, canz. vi. st. 9.

Perche a risponder la discordia è sorda.

"The workman hath in his heart a purpose, he carrieth in mind the whole form which his work should have; there wanteth not in him skill and desire to bring his labour to the best effect; only the matter, which he hath to work on, is unframable." *Hooker's Eccl. Polity*, b. v. § 9. Our Poet, in his De Monarchiâ, has expressed the same thought more fully. "Sciendum, etc." lib. ii. cap. 2. "We must know, that as art is found in a triple degree, in the mind that is of the artist, in the instrument, and in the matter formed by art, so we may contemplate nature also in a triple degree. For nature is in the mind of the first mover, who is God; then in heaven, as in an instrument, by means of which the similitude of the eternal goodness is unfolded in variable matter; and, as the artist being perfect, and the instrument in the best order, if there is any fault in the form of art, it is to be imputed only to the matter; so, since God reaches to the end of perfection, and his instrument, which is heaven, is not in any wise deficient of due perfection (as appears from what we know by philosophy concerning heaven), it remaineth that whatever fault is in inferior things, is a fault of the matter worked on, and clean beside the intention of God and of heaven."

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Or unreplying matter ; so this course [1]
Is sometimes quitted by the creature, who
Hath power, directed thus, to bend elsewhere ;
As from a cloud the fire is seen to fall,
From its original impulse warp'd to earth,
By vitious fondness. Thou no more admire
Thy soaring (if I rightly deem), than lapse
Of torrent downwards from a mountain's height.
There would [2] in thee for wonder be more cause,
If, free of hinderance, thou hadst stay'd below,
As living fire unmoved upon the earth."
So said, she turn'd toward the heaven her face.

CANTO II

ARGUMENT

Dante and his celestial guide enter the moon. The cause of the spots or shadows, which appear in that body, is explained to him.

All ye, who in small bark [3] have following sail'd,
Eager to listen, on the adventurous track
Of my proud keel, that singing cuts her way,
Backward return with speed, and your own shores

[1] *This course.*] Some beings, abusing the liberty given them by God, are repugnant to the order established by Him.

[2] *There would.*] Hence, perhaps, Milton :

——in our proper motion we ascend
Up to our native seat : descent and fall
To us were adverse. *P. L.* b. ii. v. 77.

[3] *In small bark.*] Con la barchetta mia cantando in rima.
Pulci, Morg. Magg. c. xxviii.

Io me n' andrò con la barchetta mia,
Quanto l' acqua comporta un picciol legno. *Ibid.*

Say, shall my little bark attendant sail ?
Pope, Essay on Man, Ep. iv.

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Revisit ; nor put out to open sea,
Where losing me, perchance ye may remain
Bewilder'd in deep maze. The way I pass,
Ne'er yet was run : Minerva breathes the gale ;
Apollo guides me ; and another Nine,
To my rapt sight, the arctic beams reveal.
Ye other few who have outstretch'd the neck
Timely for food of angels, on which here
They live, yet never know satiety ;
Through the deep brine ye fearless may put out
Your vessel ; marking well the furrow broad
Before you in the wave, that on both sides
Equal returns. Those, glorious, who pass'd o'er
To Colchos, wonder'd not as ye will do,
When they saw Jason following the plough.
The increate perpetual thirst,[1] that draws
Toward the realm of God's own form, bore us
Swift almost as the heaven ye behold.
Beatrice upward gazed, and I on her ;
And in such space as on the notch a dart
Is placed, then loosen'd flies, I saw myself
Arrived, where wonderous thing engaged my sight.
Whence she, to whom no care of mine was hid,
Turning to me, with aspect glad as fair,
Bespake me : "Gratefully direct thy mind
To God, through whom to this first star[2] we come."
Meseem'd as if a cloud had cover'd us,
Translucent, solid, firm, and polish'd bright,
Like adamant, which the sun's beam had smit.
Within itself the ever-during pearl
Received us ; as the wave a ray of light
Receives, and rests unbroken. If I then

[1] *The increate perpetual thirst.*] The desire of celestial beatitude, natural to the soul.
[2] *This first star.*] The moon.

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Was of corporeal frame, and it transcend . . .
Our weaker thought, how one dimension thus
Another could endure, which needs must be
If body enter body ; how much more
Must the desire inflame us to behold
That essence, which discovers by what means
God and our nature join'd ! There will be seen
That, which we hold through faith ; not shown by proof,
But in itself intelligibly plain,
E'en as the truth [1] that man at first believes.
I answer'd : "Lady ! I with thoughts devout,
Such as I best can frame, give thanks to him,
Who hath removed me from the mortal world.
But tell, I pray thee, whence the gloomy spots
Upon this body, which below on earth
Give rise to talk of Cain [2] in fabling quaint ?"
She somewhat smiled, then spake : "If mortals err
In their opinion, when the key of sense
Unlocks not, surely wonder's weapon keen
Ought not to pierce thee : since thou find'st, the wings

[1] *E'en as the truth.*] "Like a truth, that does not need demonstration, but is self-evident." Thus Plato, at the conclusion of the Sixth Book of the Republic, lays down four principles of information in the human mind: "1st, intuition of self-evident truth, νοήσις; 2nd, demonstration by reasoning, διάνοια; 3rd, belief on testimony, πίστις; 4th, probability, or conjecture, εἰκασία." I cannot resist adding a passage to the like effect from Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, b. ii. § 7. "The truth is, that the mind of man desireth evermore to know the truth, according to the most infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greatest assurance generally with all men, is that which we have by plain aspect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this, there what appeareth to be true, by strong and invincible demonstration, such as wherein it is not by any way possible to be deceived, thereunto the mind doth necessarily assent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwise. And in case these both do fail, then which way greatest probability leadeth, thither the mind doth evermore incline."

[2] *Cain.*] Compare Hell, Canto xx. 123, and note.

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Of reason to pursue the senses' flight
Are short. But what thy own thought is, declare."
Then I: "What various here above appears,
Is caused, I deem, by bodies dense or rare."[1]
She then resumed: "Thou certainly wilt see
In falsehood thy belief o'erwhelm'd, if well
Thou listen to the arguments which I
Shall bring to face it. The eighth sphere displays
Numberless lights,[2] the which, in kind and size,
May be remark'd of different aspects:
If rare or dense of that were cause alone,
One single virtue then would be in all;
Alike distributed, or more, or less.
Different virtues needs must be the fruits
Of formal principles; and these, save one,[3]
Will by thy reasoning be destroy'd. Beside,
If rarity were of that dusk the cause,
Which thou inquirest, either in some part
That planet must throughout be void, nor fed
With its own matter; or, as bodies share
Their fat and leanness, in like manner this

[1] *By bodies dense or rare.*] Lombardi observes, that the opinion respecting the spots in the moon, which Dante represents himself as here yielding to the arguments of Beatrice, is professed by our author in the Convito (ii. 14), so that we may conclude that work to have been composed before this portion of the Divina Commedia. "The shadow in the moon is nothing else but the rarity of its body, which hinders the rays of the sun from terminating and being reflected, as in other parts of it."

[2] *Numberless lights.*] The fixed stars, which differ both in bulk and splendour.

[3] *Save one.*] "Except that principle of rarity and denseness which thou hast assigned." By "formal principles," *principj formali*, are meant "constituent or essential causes". Milton, in imitation of this passage, introduces the angel arguing with Adam respecting the causes of the spots in the moon. But, as a late French translator of the Paradise, M. Artaud, well remarks, his reasoning is physical; that of Dante partly metaphysical and partly theologic.

> Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurged
> Vapours not yet into her substance turn'd.
> *Milton, P. L.* b. v. 420.

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Must in its volume change the leaves.[1] The first,
If it were true, had through the sun's eclipse
Been manifested, by transparency
Of light, as through aught rare beside effused.
But this is not. Therefore remains to see
The other cause : and, if the other fall,
Erroneous so must prove what seem'd to thee.
If not from side to side this rarity
Pass through, there needs must be a limit, whence
Its contrary no further lets it pass.
And hence the beam, that from without proceeds,
Must be pour'd back ; as colour comes, through glass
Reflected, which behind it lead conceals.
Now wilt thou say, that there of murkier hue,
Than, in the other part, the ray is shown,
By being thence refracted further back.
From this perplexity will free thee soon
Experience, if thereof thou trial make,
The fountain whence your arts derive their streams.
Three mirrors shalt thou take, and two remove
From thee alike ; and more remote the third,
Betwixt the former pair, shall meet thine eyes :
Then turn'd toward them, cause behind thy back
A light to stand, that on the three shall shine,
And thus reflected come to thee from all.
Though that, beheld most distant, do not stretch
A space so ample, yet in brightness thou
Wilt own it equaling the rest. But now,
As under snow the ground, if the warm ray
Smites it, remains dismantled of the hue
And cold, that cover'd it before ; so thee,
Dismantled in thy mind, I will inform

[1] *Change the leaves.*] Would, like leaves of parchment, be darker in some part than others.

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With light so lively, that the tremulous beam
Shall quiver where it falls. Within the heaven,[1]
Where peace divine inhabits, circles round
A body, in whose virtue lies the being
Of all that it contains. The following heaven,
That hath so many lights, this being divides,
Through different essences, from it distinct,
And yet contain'd within it. The other orbs
Their separate distinctions variously
Dispose, for their own seed and produce apt.
Thus do these organs of the world proceed,
As thou beholdest now, from step to step;
Their influences from above deriving,
And thence transmitting downwards. Mark me well;
How through this passage to the truth I ford,
The truth thou lovest; that thou henceforth, alone,
Mayst know to keep the shallows, safe, untold.
"The virtue and motion of the sacred orbs,
As mallet by the workman's hand, must needs
By blessed movers[2] be inspired. This heaven,[3]
Made beauteous by so many luminaries,
From the deep spirit,[4] that moves its circling sphere,
Its image takes and impress as a seal:
And as the soul, that dwells within your dust,
Through members different, yet together form'd,

[1] *Within the heaven.*] According to our Poet's system, there are ten heavens. The heaven, "where peace divine inhabits," is the empyrean; the body within it, that "circles round," is the primum mobile; "the following heaven," that of the fixed stars; and "the other orbs," the seven lower heavens, are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. Thus Milton, P. L. b. iii. 481.

They pass the planets seven, and pass the fix'd,
And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talk'd, and that first moved.

[2] *By blessed movers.*] By angels.
[3] *This heaven.*] The heaven of fixed stars.
[4] *The deep spirit.*] The moving angel.

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In different powers resolves itself; e'en so
The intellectual efficacy unfolds
Its goodness multiplied throughout the stars;
On its own unity revolving still.
Different virtue[1] compact different
Makes with the precious body it enlivens,
With which it knits, as life in you is knit.
From its original nature full of joy,
The virtue mingled[2] through the body shines,
As joy through pupil of the living eye.
From hence proceeds that which from light to light
Seems different, and not from dense or rare.
This is the formal cause, that generates,
Proportion'd to its power, the dusk or clear."

CANTO III

ARGUMENT

In the moon Dante meets with Piccarda, the sister of Forese, who tells him that this planet is allotted to those, who, after having made profession of chastity and a religious life, had been compelled to violate their vows; and she then points out to him the spirit of the Empress Costanza.

THAT sun,[3] which erst with love my bosom warm'd,
Had of fair truth unveil'd the sweet aspect,

[1] *Different virtue.*] "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory." 1 Cor. xv. 41. The words are nearly Plato's, whom St. Paul seems to have had in view throughout this part of his argument. Μία μὲν [δυνάμις] ἡλίου· μία δε, σελήνης· μία δὲ, τῶν πάντων ἄστρων, κ. τ. λ. Epinomis, Ed. Bip. v. ix. p. 262.

[2] *The virtue mingled.*] Virg. Æn. lib. vi. 724. Principio cœlum, etc.

[3] *That sun.*] Beatrice.

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By proof of right, and of the false reproof;
And I, to own myself convinced and free
Of doubt, as much as needed, raised my head
Erect for speech. But soon a sight appear'd,
Which, so intent to mark it, held me fix'd,
That of confession I no longer thought.
As through translucent and smooth glass, or wave
Clear and unmoved, and flowing not so deep
As that its bed is dark, the shape returns
So faint of our impictured lineaments,
That, on white forehead set, a pearl as strong
Comes to the eye; such saw I many a face,
All stretch'd to speak; from whence I straight conceived,
Delusion[1] opposite to that, which raised,
Between the man and fountain, amorous flame.
Sudden, as I perceived them, deeming these
Reflected semblances, to see of whom
They were, I turn'd mine eyes, and nothing saw;
Then turn'd them back, directed on the light
Of my sweet guide, who, smiling, shot forth beams
From her celestial eyes. "Wonder not thou,"
She cried, "at this my smiling, when I see
Thy childish judgment; since not yet on truth
It rests the foot, but, as it still is wont,
Makes thee fall back in unsound vacancy.
True substances are these, which thou behold'st,
Hither through failure of their vow exiled.
But speak thou with them; listen, and believe,
That the true light, which fills them with desire,
Permits not from its beams their feet to stray."
Straight to the shadow, which for converse seem'd

[1] *Delusion.*] "An error the contrary to that of Narcissus; because he mistook a shadow for a substance; I, a substance for a shadow."

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Most earnest, I address'd me : and began
As one by over-eagerness perplex'd :
" O spirit, born for joy ! who in the rays
Of life eternal, of that sweetness know'st
The flavour, which, not tasted, passes far
All apprehension ; me it well would please,
If thou wouldst tell me of thy name, and this
Your station here." Whence she with kindness prompt,
And eyes glistering with smiles : " Our charity,
To any wish by justice introduced,
Bars not the door ; no more than she above,
Who would have all her court be like herself.
I was a virgin sister in the earth :
And if thy mind observe me well, this form,
With such addition graced of loveliness,
Will not conceal me long ; but thou wilt know
Piccarda,[1] in the tardiest sphere thus placed,
Here 'mid these other blessed also blest.
Our hearts, whose high affections burn alone
With pleasure from the Holy Spirit conceived,
Admitted to his order, dwell in joy.
And this condition, which appears so low,
Is for this cause assign'd us, that our vows
Were, in some part, neglected and made void."
Whence I to her replied : " Something divine
Beams in your countenances wonderous fair ;
From former knowledge quite transmuting you.
Therefore to recollect was I so slow.
But what thou say'st hath to my memory
Given now such aid, that to retrace your forms
Is easier. Yet inform me, ye, who here

[1] *Piccarda.*] The sister of Corso Donati, and of Forese whom we have seen in the Purgatory, Canto xxiii. Petrarch has been supposed to allude to this lady in his Triumph of Chastity, v. 160, etc.

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Are happy ; long ye for a higher place,
More to behold, and more in love to dwell ?"
She with those other spirits gently smiled ;
Then answer'd with such gladness, that she seem'd
With love's first flame to glow : "Brother! our will
Is, in composure, settled by the power
Of charity, who makes us will alone
What we possess, and nought beyond desire :
If we should wish to be exalted more,
Then must our wishes jar with the high will
Of him, who sets us here ; which in these orbs
Thou wilt confess not possible, if here
To be in charity must needs befal,
And if her nature well thou contemplate.
Rather it is inherent in this state
Of blessedness, to keep ourselves within
The divine will, by which our wills with his
Are one. So that as we, from step to step,
Are placed throughout this kingdom, pleases all,
Even as our King, who in us plants his will ;
And in his will is our tranquillity :
It is the mighty ocean, whither tends
Whatever it creates and nature makes."
Then saw I clearly how each spot in heaven
Is Paradise, though with like gracious dew
The supreme virtue shower not over all.
But as it chances, if one sort of food
Hath satiated, and of another still
The appetite remains, that this is ask'd,
And thanks for that return'd ; e'en so did I,
In word and motion, bent from her to learn
What web it was,[1] through which she had not drawn

[1] *What web it was.*] "What vow of religious life it was that she had been hindered from completing, had been compelled to break."

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The shuttle to its point. She thus began :
" Exalted worth and perfectness of life
The Lady[1] higher up inshrine in heaven,
By whose pure laws upon your nether earth
The robe and veil they wear ; to that intent,
That e'en till death they may keep watch, or sleep,
With their great bridegroom, who accepts each vow,
Which to his gracious pleasure love conforms.
I from the world, to follow her, when young
Escaped ; and, in her vesture mantling me,
Made promise of the way her sect enjoins.
Thereafter men, for ill than good more apt,
Forth snatch'd me from the pleasant cloister's pale.
God knows[2] how, after that, my life was framed.
This other splendid shape, which thou behold'st
At my right side, burning with all the light
Of this our orb, what of myself I tell
May to herself apply. From her, like me
A sister, with like violence were torn
The saintly folds, that shaded her fair brows.
E'en when she to the world again was brought

[1] *The Lady.*] St. Clare, the foundress of the order called after her. She was born of opulent and noble parents at Assisi, in 1193, and died in 1253. See Biogr. Univ. t. i. p. 598, 8vo. Paris, 1813.

[2] *God knows.*] Rodolfo da Tossignano, Hist. Seraph. Relig. P. i. p. 138, as cited by Lombardi, relates the following legend of Piccarda: "Her brother Corso, inflamed with rage against his virgin sister, having joined with him Farinata, an infamous assassin, and twelve other abandoned ruffians, entered the monastery by a ladder, and carried away his sister forcibly to his own house; and then tearing off her religious habit, compelled her to go in a secular garment to her nuptials. Before the spouse of Christ came together with her new husband, she knelt down before a crucifix and recommended her virginity to Christ. Soon after her whole body was smitten with leprosy, so as to strike grief and horror into the beholders; and thus in a few days, through the divine disposal, she passed with a palm of virginity to the Lord." Perhaps, adds the worthy Franciscan, our Poet not being able to certify himself entirely of this occurrence, has chosen to pass it over discreetly, by making Piccarda say—

God knows how, after that, my life was framed.

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In spite of her own will and better wont,
Yet not for that the bosom's inward veil
Did she renounce. This is the luminary
Of mighty Constance,[1] who from that loud blast,
Which blew the second [2] over Suabia's realm,
That power produced, which was the third and last."

She ceased from further talk, and then began
"Ave Maria" singing; and with that song
Vanish'd, as heavy substance through deep wave.

Mine eye, that, far as it was capable,
Pursued her, when in dimness she was lost,
Turn'd to the mark where greater want impell'd,
And bent on Beatrice all its gaze.
But she, as lightning, beam'd upon my looks;
So that the sight sustain'd it not at first.
Whence I to question her became less prompt.

[1] *Constance.*] Daughter of Ruggieri, king of Sicily, who being taken by force out of a monastery where she had professed, was married to the Emperor Henri VI. and by him was mother to Frederick II. She was said to have been fifty years old or more at the time, and "because it was not credited that she could have a child at that age, she was delivered in a pavilion, and it was given out that any lady, who pleased, was at liberty to see her. Many came, and saw her; and the suspicion ceased." *Ricordano Malaspina, in Muratori Rer. It. Script.* t. viii. p. 939; and *G. Villani*, in the same words, *Hist.* lib. v. c. xvi. The French translator above mentioned speaks of her having poisoned her husband. The death of Henry VI. is recorded in the Chronicon Siciliæ, by an anonymous writer (Muratori, t. x.), but not a word of his having been poisoned by Constance; and Ricordano Malaspina even mentions her decease as happening before that of her husband, Henry V., for so this author, with some others, terms him.

[2] *The second.*] Henry VI. son of Frederick I. was the second emperor of the house of Suabia; and his son Frederick II. "the third and last".

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CANTO IV

ARGUMENT

While they still continue in the moon, Beatrice removes certain doubts which Dante had conceived respecting the place assigned to the blessed, and respecting the will absolute or conditional. He inquires whether it is possible to make satisfaction for a vow broken.

Between two kinds of food,[1] both equally
Remote and tempting, first a man might die
Of hunger, ere he one could freely chuse.
E'en so would stand a lamb between the maw
Of two fierce wolves, in dread of both alike:
E'en so between two deer[2] a dog would stand.
Wherefore, if I was silent, fault nor praise
I to myself impute; by equal doubts
Held in suspense; since of necessity
It happen'd. Silent was I, yet desire
Was painted in my looks; and thus I spake
My wish more earnestly than language could.
As Daniel,[3] when the haughty king he freed
From ire, that spurr'd him on to deeds unjust
And violent; so did Beatrice then.

[1] *Between two kinds of food.*] "Si aliqua dico sunt penitus æqualia, non magis movetur homo ad unum quam ad aliud; sicut famelicus, si habet cibum æqualiter appetibilem in diversis partibus, et secundum æqualem distantiam, non magis movetur ad unum quam ad alterum." *Thomas Aquinas, Summ. Theolog.* ima iidæ Partis. Questio. xiii. Art. vi.

[2] *Between two deer.*] Tigris ut, auditis, diversâ valle duorum
Extimulata fame, mugitibus armentorum,
Nescit utrò potius ruat, et ruere ardet utroque.
Ovid, Metam. lib. v. 166.

[3] *Daniel.*] See Daniel, ii. Beatrice did for Dante what Daniel did for Nebuchadnezzar, when he freed the king from the uncertainty respecting his dream, which had enraged him against the Chaldeans. Lombardi conjectures that "Fe si Beatrice" should be read, instead of "Fessi Beatrice"; and his conjecture has since been confirmed by the Monte Casino MS.

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"Well I discern," she thus her words address'd,
"How thou art drawn by each of these desires ;[1]
So that thy anxious thought is in itself
Bound up and stifled, nor breathes freely forth.
Thou arguest : if the good intent remain ;
What reason that another's violence
Should stint the measure of my fair desert ?
"Cause too thou find'st for doubt, in that it seems,
That spirits to the stars, as Plato[2] deem'd,
Return. These are the questions which thy will
Urge equally ; and therefore I, the first,
Of that[3] will treat which hath the more of gall.[4]
Of seraphim[5] he who is most enskied,
Moses and Samuel, and either John,
Chuse which thou wilt, nor even Mary's self,
Have not in any other heaven their seats,
Than have those spirits which so late thou saw'st ;
Nor more or fewer years exist ; but all
Make the first circle[6] beauteous, diversly
Partaking of sweet life, as more or less

[1] *By each of these desires.*] His desire to have each of the doubts, which Beatrice mentions, resolved.

[2] *Plato.*] Ἔνστήσας δὲ, κ. τ. λ. Plato, Timæus, v. ix. p. 326. Edit. Bip. "The Creator, when he had framed the universe, distributed to the stars an equal number of souls, appointing to each soul its several star."

[3] *Of that.*] Plato's opinion.

[4] *Which hath the more of gall.*] Which is the more dangerous.

[5] *Of seraphim.*] "He amongst the seraphim who is most nearly united with God, Moses, Samuel, and both the Johns, the Baptist and the Evangelist, dwell not in any other heaven than do those spirits whom thou hast just beheld; nor does even the blessed Virgin herself dwell in any other: nor is their existence either longer or shorter than that of these spirits." She first resolves his doubt whether souls do not return to their own stars, as he had read in the Timæus of Plato. Angels, then, and beatified spirits, she declares, dwell all and eternally together, only partaking more or less of the divine glory, in the empyrean; although, in condescension to human understanding, they appear to have different spheres allotted to them.

[6] *The first circle.*] The empyrean.

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Affiation of eternal bliss pervades them.
Here were they shown thee, not that fate assigns
This for their sphere, but for a sign to thee
Of that celestial furthest from the height.
Thus needs, that ye may apprehend, we speak :
Since from things sensible alone ye learn
That, which, digested rightly, after turns
To intellectual. For no other cause
The Scripture, condescending graciously
To your perception, hands and feet [1] to God
Attributes, nor so means : and holy church
Doth represent with human countenance
Gabriel, and Michäel, and him who made
Tobias whole.[2] Unlike what here thou seest,
The judgment of Timæus,[3] who affirms
Each soul restored to its particular star ;
Believing it to have been taken thence,
When nature gave it to inform her mold :
Yet to appearance his intention is
Not what his words declare : and so to shun
Derision, haply thus he hath disguised

[1] *Hands and feet.*] Thus Milton :—

——What surmounts the reach
Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporeal forms,
As shall express them best. *P. L.* b. v. 575.

These passages, rightly considered, may tend to remove the scruples of some, who are offended by any attempts at representing the Deity in pictures.

[2] ——*Him who made Tobias whole.*]

Raphael, the sociable spirit, that deign'd
To travel with Tobias, and secured
His marriage with the seven times wedded maid.
Ibid. 223.

[3] *Timæus.*] In the Convito (iii. 5) our author again refers to the Timæus of Plato, on the subject of the mundane system; but it is in order to give the preference to the opinion respecting it held by Aristotle.

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His true opinion.[1] If his meaning be,
That to the influencing of these orbs revert
The honour and the blame in human acts,
Perchance he doth not wholly miss the truth.
This principle, not understood aright,
Erewhile perverted well nigh all the world;
So that it fell to fabled names of Jove,
And Mercury, and Mars. That other doubt,
Which moves thee, is less harmful; for it brings
No peril of removing thee from me.

"That, to the eye of man,[2] our justice seems
Unjust, is argument for faith, and not
For heretic declension. But, to the end
This truth[3] may stand more clearly in your view,
I will content thee even to thy wish.

"If violence be, when that which suffers, nought
Consents to that which forceth, not for this
These spirits stood exculpate. For the will,
That wills not, still survives unquench'd, and doth,
As nature doth in fire, though violence
Wrest it a thousand times; for, if it yield
Or more or less, so far it follows force.
And thus did these, when they had power to seek
The hallow'd place again. In them, had will

[1] *His true opinion.*] In like manner, our learned Stillingfleet has professed himself "somewhat inclinable to think that Plato knew more of the lapse of mankind than he would openly discover, and for that end disguised it after his usual manner in that hypothesis of pre-existence." *Origines Sacræ*, b. iii. c. iii. § 15.

[2] *That, to the eye of man.*] "That the ways of divine justice are often inscrutable to man, ought rather to be a motive to faith than an inducement to heresy." Such appears to me the most satisfactory explanation of the passage.

[3] *This truth.*] That it is no impeachment of God's justice, if merit be lessened through compulsion of others, without any failure of good intention on the part of the meritorious. After all, Beatrice ends by admitting that there was a defect in the will, which hindered Constance and the others from seizing the first opportunity, that offered itself to them, of returning to the monastic life.

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Been perfect, such as once upon the bars
Held Laurence [1] firm, or wrought in Scævola [2]
To his own hand remorseless ; to the path,
Whence they were drawn, their steps had hasten'd back,
When liberty return'd : but in too few,
Resolve, so steadfast, dwells. And by these words,
If duly weigh'd, that argument is void,
Which oft might have perplex'd thee still. But now
Another question thwarts thee, which, to solve,
Might try thy patience without better aid.
I have, no doubt, instill'd into thy mind,
That blessed spirit may not lie ; since near
The source of primal truth it dwells for aye :
And thou mightst after of Piccarda learn
That Constance held affection to the veil ;
So that she seems to contradict me here.
Not seldom, brother, it hath chanced for men
To do what they had gladly left undone ;
Yet, to shun peril, they have done amiss :
E'en as Alcmæon,[3] at his father's [4] suit
Slew his own mother ;[5] so made pitiless,
Not to lose pity. On this point bethink thee,
That force and will are blended in such wise
As not to make the offence excusable.
Absolute will agrees not to the wrong ;
But inasmuch as there is fear of woe
From non-compliance, it agrees. Of will [6]

[1] *Laurence.*] Who suffered martyrdom in the third century.
[2] *Scævola.*] See Liv. Hist. D. 1. lib. ii. 12.
[3] *Alcmæon.*] Ovid, Met. lib. ix. f. 10

——Ultusque parente parentem
Natus, erit facto pius et sceleratus eodem.

[4] *His father's.*] Amphiaräus.
[5] *His own mother.*] Eriphyle.
[6] *Of will.*] "What Piccarda asserts of Constance, that she retained her affection to the monastic life, is said absolutely and

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Thus absolute, Piccarda spake, and I
Of the other ; so that both have truly said."
Such was the flow of that pure rill, that well'd
From forth the fountain of all truth ; and such
The rest, that to my wandering thoughts I found.
" O thou, of primal love the prime delight,
Goddess ! " I straight replied, " whose lively words
Still shed new heat and vigour through my soul ;
Affection fails me to requite thy grace
With equal sum of gratitude : be his
To recompense, who sees and can reward thee.
Well I discern, that by that truth [1] alone
Enlighten'd, beyond which no truth may roam,
Our mind can satisfy her thirst to know :
Therein she resteth, e'en as in his lair
The wild beast, soon as she hath reach'd that bound.
And she hath power to reach it ; else desire
Were given to no end. And thence doth doubt
Spring, like a shoot, around the stock of truth ;
And it is nature which, from height to height,
On to the summit prompts us. This invites,
This doth assure me, Lady ! reverently
To ask thee of another truth, that yet
Is dark to me. I fain would know, if man
By other works well done may so supply
The failure of his vows, that in your scale
They lack not weight." I spake ; and on me straight
Beatrice look'd, with eyes that shot forth sparks
Of love celestial, in such copious stream,
That, virtue sinking in me overpower'd,
I turn'd ; and downward bent, confused, my sight.

without relation to circumstances; and that, which I affirm, is spoken of the will conditionally and respectively: so that our apparent difference is without any disagreement."

1 *That truth.*] The light of divine truth.

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CANTO V

ARGUMENT

The question proposed in the last Canto is answered. Dante ascends with Beatrice to the planet Mercury, which is the second heaven; and here he finds a multitude of spirits, one of whom offers to satisfy him of anything he may desire to know from them.

"If beyond earthly wont,[1] the flame of love
Illume me, so that I o'ercome thy power
Of vision, marvel not: but learn the cause
In that perfection of the sight, which, soon
As apprehending, hasteneth on to reach
The good it apprehends. I well discern,
How in thine intellect already shines
The light eternal, which to view alone
Ne'er fails to kindle love; and if aught else
Your love seduces, 'tis but that it shows
Some ill-mark'd vestige of that primal beam.
"This wouldst thou know: if failure of the vow
By other service may be so supplied,
As from self-question to assure the soul."
Thus she her words, not heedless of my wish,
Began; and thus, as one who breaks not off
Discourse, continued in her saintly strain.
"Supreme of gifts,[2] which God, creating, gave

[1] *If beyond earthly wont.*] Dante having been unable to sustain the splendour of Beatrice, as we have seen at the end of the last Canto, she tells him to attribute her increase of brightness to the place in which they were.

[2] *Supreme of gifts.*] So in the De Monarchiâ, lib. i. cap. 12. "Si ergo judicium moveat, etc." "If then the judgment altogether move the appetite, and is in no wise prevented by it, it is free. But if the judgment be moved by the appetite in any way preventing it, it cannot be free: because it acts not of itself, but is led captive by another. And hence it is that brutes cannot have free judgment, because their judgments are always prevented by appetite. And hence it may also appear manifest, that intellectual substances,

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Of his free bounty, sign most evident
Of goodness, and in his account most prized
Was liberty of will; the boon, wherewith
All intellectual creatures, and them sole,
He hath endow'd. Hence now thou mayst infer
Of what high worth the vow, which so is framed,
That when man offers, God well-pleased accepts:
For in the compact between God and him,
This treasure, such as I describe it to thee,
He makes the victim; and of his own act.
What compensation therefore may he find?
If that, whereof thou hast oblation made,
By using well thou think'st to consecrate,
Thou wouldst of theft[1] do charitable deed.
Thus I resolve thee of the greater point.
"But forasmuch as holy church, herein
Dispensing, seems to contradict the truth
I have discover'd to thee, yet behoves
Thou rest a little longer at the board,
Ere the crude aliment which thou hast ta'en,
Digested fitly, to nutrition turn.
Open thy mind to what I now unfold;
And give it inward keeping. Knowledge comes
Of learning well retain'd, unfruitful else.
"This sacrifice, in essence, of two things[2]

whose wills are immutable, and likewise souls separated from the body, and departing from it well and holily, lose not the liberty of choice on account of the immutability of the will, but retain it most perfectly and powerfully. This being discerned, it is again plain, that this liberty, or principle of all our liberty, is the greatest good conferred on human nature by God; because by this very thing we are here made happy, as men; by this we are elsewhere happy, as divine beings."

[1] *Thou wouldst of theft.*] "Licet fur de furto, etc." *De Monarchiâ*, lib. ii. cap. 6. "Although a thief should out of that which he has stolen give help to a poor man, yet is that not to be called almsgiving."

[2] *Two things.*] The one, the substance of the vow, as of a single life for instance, or of keeping fast; the other, the compact, or form of it,

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Consisteth ; one is that, whereof 'tis made ;
The covenant, the other. For the last,
It ne'er is cancel'd, if not kept : and hence
I spake, erewhile, so strictly of its force.
For this it was enjoin'd the Israelites,[1]
Though leave were given them, as thou know'st, to change
The offering, still to offer. The other part,
The matter and the substance of the vow,
May well be such, as that, without offence,
It may for other substance be exchanged.
But, at his own discretion, none may shift
The burden on his shoulders ; unreleased
By either key,[2] the yellow and the white.
Nor deem of any change, as less than vain,
If the last bond [3] be not within the new
Included, as the quatre in the six.
No satisfaction therefore can be paid
For what so precious in the balance weighs,
That all in counterpoise must kick the beam.
Take then no vow at random : ta'en, with faith
Preserve it ; yet not bent, as Jephthah once,
Blindly to execute a rash resolve,
Whom better it had suited to exclaim,
'I have done ill,' than to redeem his pledge
By doing worse : or, not unlike to him
In folly, that great leader of the Greeks ;
Whence, on the altar, Iphigenia mourn'd
Her virgin beauty, and hath since made mourn
Both wise and simple, even all, who hear
Of so fell sacrifice. Be ye more staid,
O Christians ! not, like feather, by each wind

1 *It was enjoin'd the Israelites.*] See Lev. c. xii. and xxvii.
2 *Either key.*] Purgatory, Canto ix. 108.
3 *If the last bond.*] If the thing substituted be not far more precious than that which is released.

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Removeable ; nor think to cleanse yourselves
In every water. Either testament,
The old and new, is yours : and for your guide,
The shepherd of the church. Let this suffice
To save you. When by evil lust enticed,
Remember ye be men, not senseless beasts ;
Nor let the Jew, who dwelleth in your streets,
Hold you in mockery. Be not, as the lamb,
That, fickle wanton, leaves its mother's milk,
To dally with itself in idle play."

Such were the words that Beatrice spake :
These ended, to that region,[1] where the world
Is liveliest, full of fond desire she turn'd.

Though mainly prompt new question to propose,
Her silence and changed look did keep me dumb.
And as the arrow, ere the cord is still,
Leapeth unto its mark ; so on we sped
Into the second realm. There I beheld
The dame, so joyous, enter, that the orb
Grew brighter at her smiles ; and, if the star
Were moved to gladness, what then was my cheer,
Whom nature hath made apt for every change !

As in a quiet and clear lake the fish,
If aught approach them from without, do draw
Towards it, deeming it their food ; so drew
Full more than thousand splendours towards us ;
And in each one was heard : " Lo ! one arrived
To multiply our loves ! " and as each came,

[1] *That region.*] As some explain it, the east: according to others, the equinoctial line. Lombardi supposes it to mean that she looked upwards. Monti, in his Proposta (Vol. 3. pte 2. p. lxxix. Milan, 1826), has adduced a passage from our author's Convito (ii. 4), which fixes the sense. "Dico ancora, che quanto il Cielo è più presso al cerchio equatore, tanto è più mobile per comparazione alli suoi; perocchè ha più movimento, e più attualità, e più vita, e più forma, e più tocca di quello, che è sopra se, e per conseguente più virtuoso."

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The shadow, streaming forth effulgence new,
Witness'd augmented joy. Here, Reader! think,
If thou didst miss the sequel of my tale,
To know the rest how sorely thou wouldst crave;
And thou shalt see what vehement desire
Possess'd me, soon as these had met my view,
To know their state. "O born in happy hour!
Thou, to whom grace vouchsafes, or e'er thy close
Of fleshly warfare, to behold the thrones
Of that eternal triumph; know, to us
The light communicated, which through heaven
Expatiates without bound. Therefore, if aught
Thou of our beams wouldst borrow for thine aid,
Spare not; and, of our radiance, take thy fill."
Thus of those piteous spirits one bespake me;
And Beatrice next: "Say on; and trust
As unto gods."—"How in the light supreme
Thou harbour'st, and from thence the virtue bring'st,
That, sparkling in thine eyes, denotes thy joy,
I mark; but, who thou art, am still to seek;
Or wherefore, worthy spirit! for thy lot
This sphere[1] assign'd, that oft from mortal ken
Is veil'd by other's beams." I said; and turn'd
Toward the lustre, that with greeting kind
Erewhile had hail'd me. Forthwith, brighter far
Than erst, it wax'd: and, as himself the sun
Hides through excess of light, when his warm gaze[2]
Hath on the mantle of thick vapours prey'd;
Within its proper ray the saintly shape
Was, through increase of gladness, thus conceal'd;
And, shrouded so in splendour, answer'd me,
E'en as the tenour of my song declares.

[1] *This sphere.*] The planet Mercury, which, being nearest to the sun, is oftenest hidden by that luminary.

[2] *When his warm gaze.*] When the sun has dried up the vapours, that shaded his brightness.

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CANTO VI

ARGUMENT

The spirit, who had offered to satisfy the inquiries of Dante, declares himself to be the Emperor Justinian; and after speaking of his own actions, recounts the victories, before him, obtained under the Roman Eagle. He then informs our Poet that the soul of Romeo the pilgrim is in the same star.

"After that Constantine the eagle turn'd[1]
Against the motions of the heaven, that roll'd
Consenting with its course, when he of yore,
Lavinia's spouse, was leader of the flight;
A hundred years twice told and more,[2] his seat
At Europe's extreme point,[3] the bird of Jove
Held, near the mountains, whence he issued first;
There under shadow of his sacred plumes
Swaying the world, till through successive hands
To mine he came devolved. Cæsar I was;
And am Justinian; destined by the will
Of that prime love, whose influence I feel,
From vain excess to clear the incumber'd laws.[4]

[1] *After that Constantine the eagle turn'd.*] Constantine, in transferring the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, carried the eagle, the Imperial ensign, from the west to the east. Æneas, on the contrary, had, with better augury, moved along with the sun's course, when he passed from Troy to Italy.

[2] *A hundred years twice told and more.*] The Emperor Constantine entered Byzantium in 324; and Justinian began his reign in 527.

[3] *At Europe's extreme point.*] Constantinople being situated at the extreme of Europe, and on the borders of Asia, near those mountains in the neighbourhood of Troy, from whence the first founders of Rome had emigrated.

[4] *To clear the incumber'd laws.*] The code of laws was abridged and reformed by Justinian.

Giustiniano son io, disse il primajo,
Che 'l troppo e 'l van secai for delle leggi,
Ora soggette all' arme e al denajo.
Frezzi, Il Quadriregio, lib. iv. cap. 13.

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Or e'er that work engaged me, I did hold
In Christ one nature only ;[1] with such faith
Contented. But the blessed Agapete,[2]
Who was chief shepherd, he with warning voice
To the true faith recall'd me. I believed
His words : and what he taught, now plainly see,
As thou in every contradiction seest
The true and false opposed. Soon as my feet
Were to the church reclaim'd, to my great task,
By inspiration of God's grace impell'd,
I gave me wholly ; and consign'd mine arms
To Belisarius, with whom heaven's right hand
Was link'd in such conjointment, 'twas a sign
That I should rest. To thy first question thus
I shape mine answer, which were ended here,
But that its tendency doth prompt perforce
To some addition ; that thou well mayst mark,
What reason on each side they have to plead,
By whom that holiest banner is withstood,
Both who pretend its power[3] and who oppose.[4]
"Beginning from that hour, when Pallas died[5]
To give it rule, behold the valorous deeds
Have made it worthy reverence. Not unknown[6]

[1] *In Christ one nature only.*] Justinian is said to have been a follower of the heretical opinions held by Eutyches, "who taught that in Christ there was but one nature, *viz.*, that of the incarnate word". *Maclaine's Mosheim*, tom. ii. cent. v. p. ii. cap. v. § 13.

[2] *Agapete.*] "Agapetus, Bishop of Rome, whose Scheda Regia, addressed to the Emperor Justinian, procured him a place among the wisest and most judicious writers of this century." *Ibid.* cent. vi. p. ii. cap. ii. § 8. Compare Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, l. ii. cap. xvi.

[3] *Who pretend its power.*] The Ghibellines.

[4] *And who oppose.*] The Guelphs.

[5] *Pallas died.*] See Virgil, Æn. lib. x.

[6] *Not unknown.*] In the second book of his treatise De Monarchiâ, where Dante endeavours to prove that the Roman people had a right to govern the world, he refers to their conquests and successes in nearly the same order as in this passage. "The Roman," he affirms, "might truly say, as the Apostle did to

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To thee, how for three hundred years and more
It dwelt in Alba, up to those fell lists
Where, for its sake, were met the rival three ;[1]
Nor aught unknown to thee, which it achieved
Down[2] from the Sabines' wrong to Lucrece' woe ;
With its seven kings conquering the nations round ;
Nor all it wrought, by Roman worthies borne
'Gainst Brennus and the Epirot prince,[3] and hosts
Of single chiefs, or states in league combined
Of social warfare : hence, Torquatus stern,
And Quintius[4] named of his neglected locks,
The Decii, and the Fabii hence acquired
Their fame, which I with duteous zeal embalm.[5]
By it the pride of Arab hordes[6] was quell'd,
When they, led on by Hannibal, o'erpass'd
The Alpine rocks, whence glide thy currents, Po !
Beneath its guidance, in their prime of days
Scipio and Pompey triumph'd ; and that hill[7]

Timothy, There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness; laid up, that is, in the eternal providence of God" (cap. 11). And again: "Now it is manifest, that by *duel* (per duellum) the Roman people acquired the Empire; therefore they acquired it by right, to prove which is the main purpose of the present book" (*ibid.*).

1 *The rival three.*] The Horatii and Curiatii.

2 *Down.*] "From the rape of the Sabine women to the violation of Lucretia."

3 *The Epirot prince.*] King Pyrrhus.

4 *Quintius.*] Quintius Cincinnatus.

E Cincinnato dall' inculta chioma. *Petrarca.*

Compare De Monarchiâ, lib. ii. cap. 5, etc. "Itaque, inquit, et majores nostri, etc."

5 *Embalm.*] The word in the original is "mirro," which some think is put for "miro," "I behold or regard;" and others understand, as I have rendered it.

6 *Arab hordes.*] The Arabians seem to be put for the barbarians in general. Lombardi's comment is, that as the Arabs are an Asiatic people, and it is not recorded that Hannibal had any other troops except his own countrymen the Carthaginians, who were Africans, we must understand that Dante denominates that people, Arabs, on account of their origin. "Ab Ifrico Arabiæ Felicis rege, qui omnium primus hanc terram (Africam) incoluisse fertur," etc. *Leo Africanus, Africæ Descriptio*, lib. i. cap. i.

7 *That hill.*] The city of Fesulæ, which was sacked by the Romans after the defeat of Catiline.

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Under whose summit [1] thou didst see the light,
Rued its stern bearing. After, near the hour,[2]
When heaven was minded that o'er all the world
His own deep calm should brood, to Cæsar's hand
Did Rome consign it ; and what then it wrought [3]
From Var unto the Rhine, saw Isere's flood,
Saw Loire and Seine, and every vale, that fills
The torrent Rhone. What after that it wrought,
When from Ravenna it came forth, and leap'd
The Rubicon, was of so bold a flight,
That tongue nor pen may follow it. Towards Spain
It wheel'd its bands, then toward Dyrrachium smote,
And on Pharsalia, with so fierce a plunge,
E'en the warm Nile was conscious to the pang ;
Its native shores Antandros, and the streams
Of Simois revisited, and there
Where Hector lies ; then ill for Ptolemy
His pennons shook again ; lightening thence fell
On Juba ; and the next, upon your west,
At sound of the Pompeian trump, return'd.

[1] *Under whose summit.*] "At the foot of which is situated Florence, thy birth-place."

[2] *Near the hour.*] Near the time of our Saviour's birth. "The immeasurable goodness of the Deity being willing again to conform to itself the human creature, which by transgression of the first man had from God departed, and fallen from his likeness, it was determined in that most high and closest consistory of the Godhead, the Trinity, that the Son of God should descend upon earth to make this agreement. And because it was behoveful, that at his coming, the world, not only the heaven but the earth, should be in the best possible disposition; and the best disposition of the earth is, when it is a monarchy, that is, all under one prince, as hath been said above; therefore through the divine forecast was ordained that people and that city for the accomplishment, namely, the glorious Rome." *Convito*, iv. 5. The same argument is repeated at the conclusion of the first book of our author's treatise "De Monarchiâ".

[3] *What then it wrought.*] In the following fifteen lines the Poet has comprised the exploits of Julius Cæsar, for which, and for the allusions in the greater part of this speech of Justinian's, I must refer my reader to the history of Rome.

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"What following, and in its next bearer's gripe,[1]
It wrought, is now by Cassius and Brutus
Bark'd of[2] in hell; and by Perugia's sons,
And Modena's, was mourn'd. Hence weepeth still
Sad Cleopatra, who, pursued by it,
Took from the adder black and sudden death.
With him it ran e'en to the Red Sea coast;
With him composed the world to such a peace,
That of his temple Janus barr'd the door.

"But all the mighty standard yet had wrought,
And was appointed to perform thereafter,
Throughout the mortal kingdom which it sway'd,
Falls in appearance dwindled and obscured,
If one with steady eye and perfect thought
On the third Cæsar[3] look; for to his hands,
The living Justice, in whose breath I move,
Committed glory, e'en into his hands,
To execute the vengeance of its wrath.

"Hear now, and wonder at, what next I tell.
After with Titus it was sent to wreak
Vengeance for vengeance[4] of the ancient sin.
And, when the Lombard tooth, with fang impure,
Did gore the bosom of the holy church,
Under its wings, victorious Charlemain[5]

[1] *In its next bearer's gripe.*] With Augustus Cæsar.

[2] *Bark'd of.*] τοιαῦθ' ὑλακτεῖ. *Sophocles, Electra*, 299.

[3] *The third Cæsar.*] The eagle in the hand of Tiberius, the third of the Cæsars, outdid all its achievements, both past and future, by becoming the instrument of that mighty and mysterious act of satisfaction made to the divine justice in the crucifixion of our Lord. This is Lombardi's explanation; and he deserves much credit for being right, where all the other commentators, as far as I know, are wrong. See note to Purg. xxxii. 50.

[4] *Vengeance for vengeance.*] This will be afterwards explained by the Poet himself. See next Canto, v. 47, and note.

[5] *Charlemain.*] Dante could not be ignorant that the reign of Justinian was long prior to that of Charlemain; but the spirit of the former emperor is represented, both in this instance and in what follows, as conscious of the events that had taken place after his own time.

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Sped to her rescue. Judge then for thyself
Of those, whom I erewhile accused to thee,
What they are, and how grievous their offending,
Who are the cause of all your ills. The one [1]
Against the universal ensign rears
The yellow lilies ; [2] and with partial aim,
That, to himself, the other [3] arrogates :
So that 'tis hard to see who most offends.
Be yours, ye Ghibellines,[4] to veil your hearts

1 *The one.*] The Guelph party.
2 *The yellow lilies.*] The French ensign.
3 *The other.*] The Ghibelline party.
4 *Ye Ghibellines.*] "Authors differ much as to the beginning of these factions, and the origin of the names by which they were distinguished. Some say that they began in Italy as early as the time of the Emperor Frederick I. in his well-known disputes with Pope Alexander III. about the year 1160. Others make them more ancient, dating them from the reign of the Emperor Henry IV. who died in 1125. But the most common opinion is, that they arose in the contests between the Emperor Frederick II. and Pope Gregory IX., and that this Emperor, wishing to ascertain who were his own adherents, and who those of the Pope, caused the former to be marked by the appellation of Ghibellines, and the latter by that of Guelphs. It is more probable, however, that the factions were at this time either renewed, or diffused more widely, and that their origin was of an earlier date, since it is certain that G. Villani, b. v. c. xxxvii., Ricordano Malaspina, c. civ., and Pietro Buoninsegni, b. i., of their histories of Florence, are agreed, that even from 1215, that is long before Frederick had succeeded to the Empire, and Gregory to the Pontificate, by the death of Buondelmonte Buondelmonti, one of the chief gentlemen in Florence (see Par. xvi. 139), the factions of the Guelfi and Ghibellini were introduced into that city." A. G. Artegiani, Annotations on the Quadriregio, p. 180. "The same variety of opinion prevails with regard to the origin of the names. Some deduce them from two brothers, who were Germans, the one called Guelph and the other Gibel, who being the partizans of two powerful families in Pistoia, the Panciatichi, and the Cancellieri, then at enmity with each other, were the first occasion of these titles having been given to the discordant factions. Others, with more probability, derive them from Guelph or Guelfone, Duke of Bavaria, and Gibello, a castle where his antagonist, the Emperor Conrad the Third, was born ; in consequence of a battle between Guelph and Henry the son of Conrad, which was fought (according to Mini, in his Defence of Florence, p. 48) A.D. 1138. Others assign to them an origin yet more ancient ; asserting, that at the election of Frederick I. to the Empire, the Electors concurred in chusing him, in order to extinguish the inveterate discords between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, that prince being descended by the paternal line from the Ghibellines, and by the maternal from the Guelphs. Bartolo, however, in his tractate de

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Beneath another standard : ill is this
Follow'd of him, who severs it and justice :
And let not with his Guelphs the new-crown'd
Charles [1]
Assail it ; but those talons hold in dread,
Which from a lion of more lofty port
Have rent the casing. Many a time ere now
The sons have for the sire's transgression wail'd :
Nor let him trust the fond belief, that heaven
Will truck its armour for his lilied shield.
"This little star is furnish'd with good spirits,
Whose mortal lives were busied to that end,
That honour and renown might wait on them :
And, when desires [2] thus err in their intention,
True love must needs ascend with slacker beam.
But it is part of our delight, to measure
Our wages with the merit ; and admire
The close proportion. Hence doth heavenly justice
Temper so evenly affection in us,
It ne'er can warp to any wrongfulness.
Of diverse voices is sweet music made :
So in our life the different degrees
Render sweet harmony among these wheels.
"Within the pearl, that now encloseth us,

Guelphis et Gibellinis, gives an intrinsic meaning to these names from certain passages in Scripture. 'Sicut Gibellus interpretatur locus fortitudinis, ita Gibellini appellantur confidentes in fortitudine militum et armorum, et sicut Guelpha interpretatur os loquens, ita Guelphi interpretantur confidentes in orationibus et in divinis.' What value is to be put on this interpretation, which well accords with the genius of those times, when it was perhaps esteemed a marvellous mystery, we leave it to others to decide." *Ibid.*

[1] *Charles.*] The commentators explain this to mean Charles II. king of Naples and Sicily. Is it not more likely to allude to Charles of Valois, son of Philip III. of France, who was sent for, about this time, into Italy by Pope Boniface, with the promise of being made emperor? See G. Villani, lib. viii. cap. xlii.

[2] *When desires.*] When honour and fame are the chief motives to action, that love, which has heaven for its object, must necessarily become less fervent.

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Shines Romeo's light,[1] whose goodly deed and fair
Met ill acceptance. But the Provençals,
That were his foes, have little cause for mirth.
Ill shapes that man his course, who makes his wrong
Of other's worth. Four daughters[2] were there born
To Raymond Berenger;[3] and every one
Became a queen: and this for him did Romeo.
Though of mean state and from a foreign land.
Yet envious tongues incited him to ask
A reckoning of that just one, who return'd
Twelve fold to him for ten. Aged and poor

[1] *Romeo's light.*] The story of Romeo is involved in some uncertainty. The name of Romeo signified, as we have seen in the note Purg. xxxiii. 78, one who went on a pilgrimage to Rome. The French writers assert the continuance of his ministerial office even after the decease of his sovereign, Raymond Berenger, Count of Provence: and they rest this assertion chiefly on the fact of a certain Romieu de Villeneuve, who was the contemporary of that prince, having left large possessions behind him, as appears by his will preserved in the archives of the bishoprick of Vence. That they are right as to the name at least, would appear from the following marginal note on the Monte Casino MS. Romeo de Villanova districtus civitatis Ventiæ de Provincia olim administratoris Raymundi Belingerj Comitis de Provincia—ivit peregrinando contemplatione ad Deum. Yet it is improbable, on the other hand, that the Italians, who lived so near the time, should be misinformed in an occurrence of such notoriety. According to them, after he had long been a faithful steward to Raymond, when an account was required from him of the revenues which he had carefully husbanded, and his master as lavishly disbursed, "he demanded the little mule, the staff, and the scrip, with which he had first entered into the Count's service, a stranger pilgrim from the shrine of St. James, in Galicia, and parted as he came; nor was it ever known whence he was, or whither he went." *G. Villani*, lib. vi. c. xcii. The same incidents are told of him at the conclusion of cap. xxviii. lib. ii. of Fazio degli Uberti's Dittamondo.

[2] *Four daughters.*] Of the four daughters of Raymond Berenger, Margaret, the eldest, was married to Louis IX. of France; Eleanor, the next, to Henry III. of England; Sancha, the third, to Richard, Henry's brother, and King of the Romans; and the youngest, Beatrix, to Charles I. King of Naples and Sicily, and brother to Louis.

[3] *Raymond Berenger.*] This prince, the last of the house of Barcelona, who was Count of Provence, died in 1245. He is in the list of Provençal poets. See Millot, Hist. Litt. des Troubadours, tom. ii. p. 212. But M. Raynouard could find no manuscript of his works. See Choix des Poésies des Troubadours, tom. v. p. vii.

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He parted thence: and if the world did know
The heart he had, begging his life by morsels,
'Twould deem the praise, it yields him, scantly
dealt."

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT

In consequence of what had been said by Justinian, who together with the other spirits have now disappeared, some doubts arise in the mind of Dante respecting the human redemption. These difficulties are fully explained by Beatrice.

"HOSANNA[1] Sanctus Deus Sabaoth,
Superillustrans claritate tuâ
Felices ignes horum malahoth."
Thus chanting saw I turn that substance bright,[2]
With fourfold lustre to its orb again,
Revolving; and the rest, unto their dance,
With it, moved also; and, like swiftest sparks,
In sudden distance from my sight were veil'd.
Me doubt possess'd; and "Speak," it whisper'd
me,
"Speak, speak unto thy lady; that she quench
Thy thirst with drops of sweetness." Yet blank
awe,
Which lords it o'er me, even at the sound
Of Beatrice's name, did bow me down
As one in slumber held. Not long that mood
Beatrice suffer'd: she, with such a smile,

[1] *Hosanna.*] "Hosanna holy God of Sabaoth, abundantly illumining with thy brightness the blessed fires of these kingdoms."
[2] *That substance bright.*] Justinian.

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As might have made one blest amid the flames,[1]
Beaming upon me, thus her words began :
" Thou in thy thought art pondering (as I deem,
And what I deem is truth) how just revenge
Could be with justice punish'd : from which doubt
I soon will free thee ; so thou mark my words ;
For they of weighty matter shall possess thee.
Through suffering not a curb upon the power
That will'd in him, to his own profiting,
That man, who was unborn,[2] condemn'd himself ;
And, in himself, all, who since him have lived,
His offspring : whence, below, the human kind
Lay sick in grievous error many an age ;
Until it pleased the Word of God to come
Amongst them down, to his own person joining
The nature from its Maker far estranged,
By the mere act of his eternal love.
Contemplate here the wonder I unfold.
The nature with its Maker thus conjoin'd,
Created first was blameless, pure and good ;
But, through itself alone, was driven forth
From Paradise, because it had eschew'd
The way of truth and life, to evil turn'd.
Ne'er then was penalty so just as that
Inflicted by the cross, if thou regard
The nature in assumption doom'd ; ne'er wrong
So great, in reference to him, who took
Such nature on him, and endured the doom.
So different effects [3] flow'd from one act :

[1] *As might have made one blest amid the flames.*] So Giusto de' Conti, Bella Mano.

" Qual salamandra."
Che puommi nelle fiamme far beato.

[2] *That man, who was unborn.*] Adam.

[3] *Different effects.*] The death of Christ was pleasing to God, inasmuch as it satisfied the divine justice ; and to the Jews, because it gratified their malignity : and while heaven opened for joy at the ransom of man, the earth trembled through compassion for its Maker.

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For by one death God and the Jews were pleased ;
And heaven was open'd, though the earth did quake.
Count it not hard henceforth, when thou dost hear
That a just vengeance [1] was, by righteous court,
Justly revenged. But yet I see thy mind,
By thought on thought arising, sore perplex'd ;
And, with how vehement desire, it asks
Solution of the maze. What I have heard,
Is plain, thou say'st : but wherefore God this way
For our redemption chose, eludes my search.
" Brother ! no eye of man not perfected,
Nor fully ripen'd in the flame of love,
May fathom this decree. It is a mark,
In sooth, much aim'd at, and but little kenn'd :
And I will therefore show thee why such way
Was worthiest. The celestial love,[2] that spurns
All envying in its bounty, in itself
With such effulgence blazeth, as sends forth
All beauteous things eternal. What distils [3]
Immediate thence, no end of being knows ;
Bearing its seal immutably imprest.
Whatever thence immediate falls, is free,
Free wholly, uncontrollable by power

1 *A just vengeance.*] The punishment of Christ by the Jews, although just as far as regarded the human nature assumed by him, and so a righteous vengeance of sin, yet being unjust as it regarded the divine nature, was itself justly revenged on the Jews by the destruction of Jerusalem.

2 *The celestial love.*] From Boëtius de Consol. Philos. lib. iii. Metr. 9.

Quem non externæ pepulerunt fingere causæ
Materiæ fluitantis opus, verum insita summi
Forma boni livore carens ; tu cuncta superno
Ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse
Mundum mente gerens, similique in imagine formans,
Perfectasque jubens perfectum absolvere partes.

3 *What distils.*] " That, which proceeds immediately from God, and without the intervention of secondary causes, is immortal."

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Of each thing new : by such conformity
More grateful to its author, whose bright beams,
Though all partake their shining, yet in those
Are liveliest, which resemble him the most.
These tokens of pre-eminence [1] on man
Largely bestow'd, if any of them fail,
He needs must forfeit his nobility,
No longer stainless. Sin alone is that,
Which doth disfranchise him, and make unlike
To the chief good ; for that its light in him
Is darken'd. And to dignity thus lost
Is no return ; unless, where guilt makes void,
He for ill pleasure pay with equal pain.
Your nature, which entirely in its seed
Transgress'd, from these distinctions fell, no less
Than from its state in Paradise ; nor means
Found of recovery (search all methods out
As strictly as thou may) save one of these,
The only fords were left through which to wade :
Either, that God had of his courtesy
Released him merely ; or else, man himself
For his own folly by himself atoned.
"Fix now thine eye, intently as thou canst,
On the everlasting counsel ; and explore,
Instructed by my words, the dread abyss.
"Man in himself had ever lack'd the means
Of satisfaction, for he could not stoop
Obeying, in humility so low,
As high, he, disobeying, thought to soar :
And, for this reason, he had vainly tried,
Out of his own sufficiency, to pay

[1] *These tokens of pre-eminence.*] The before-mentioned gifts of immediate creation by God, independence on secondary causes, and consequent similitude and agreeableness to the divine Being, all at first conferred on man.

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The rigid satisfaction. Then behoved
That God should by his own ways lead him back
Unto the life, from whence he fell, restored:
By both his ways, I mean, or one alone.[1]
But since the deed is ever prized the more,
The more the doer's good intent appears;
Goodness celestial, whose broad signature
Is on the universe, of all its ways
To raise ye up, was fain to leave out none.
Nor aught so vast or so magnificent,
Either for him who gave or who received,
Between the last night and the primal day,
Was or can be. For God more bounty show'd,
Giving himself to make man capable
Of his return to life, than had the terms
Been mere and unconditional release.
And for his justice, every method else
Were all too scant, had not the Son of God
Humbled himself to put on mortal flesh.
"Now, to content thee fully, I revert;
And further in some part[2] unfold my speech,
That thou mayst see it clearly as myself.
"I see, thou sayst, the air, the fire I see,
The earth and water, and all things of them
Compounded, to corruption turn, and soon
Dissolve. Yet these were also things create.

[1] *By both his ways, I mean, or one alone.*] Either by mercy and justice united, or by mercy alone.

[2] *In some part.*] She reverts to that part of her discourse where she had said that what proceeds immediately from God "no end of being knows". She then proceeds to tell him that the elements, which, though he knew them to be created, he yet saw dissolved, received their form not immediately from God, but from a virtue or power created by God; that the soul of brutes and plants is in like manner drawn forth by the stars with a combination of those elements meetly tempered, "di complession potenziata"; but that the angels and the heavens may be said to be created in that very manner in which they exist, without any intervention of agency.

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Because, if what were told me, had been true,
They from corruption had been therefore free.
"The angels, O my brother! and this clime
Wherein thou art, impassible and pure,
I call created, even as they are
In their whole being. But the elements,
Which thou hast named, and what of them is made,
Are by created virtue inform'd: create,
Their substance; and create, the informing virtue
In these bright stars, that round them circling move.
The soul of every brute and of each plant,
The ray and motion of the sacred lights,
Draw [1] from complexion with meet power endued.
But this our life the eternal good inspires
Immediate, and enamours of itself;
So that our wishes rest for ever here.
"And hence thou mayst by inference conclude
Our resurrection certain,[2] if thy mind

[1] *Draw.*] I had before rendered this differently, and I now think erroneously:

With complex potency attract and turn.

[2] *Our resurrection certain.*] Venturi appears to mistake the Poet's reasoning, when he observes: "Wretched for us, if we had not arguments more convincing, and of a higher kind, to assure us of the truth of our resurrection". It is, perhaps, here intended that the whole of God's dispensation should be taken into the account. The conclusion may be, that as before sin man was immortal, and even in flesh proceeded immediately from God, so being restored to the favour of heaven by the expiation made for sin, he necessarily recovers his claim to immortality even in the body. There is much in this poem to justify the encomium which the learned Salvini has passed on it, when, in an epistle to Redi, imitating what Horace had said of Homer, that the duties of life might be better learnt from the Grecian bard, than from the teachers of the porch or the academy, he says—

And dost thou ask, what themes my mind engage?
The lonely hours I give to Dante's page;
And meet more sacred learning in his lines,
Than I had gain'd from all the school divines.

Se volete saper la vita mia,
Studiando io sto lungi da tutti gli uomini;
Ed ho imparato più teologia
In questi giorni, che ho riletto Dante,
Che nelle scuole fatto io non avria.

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Consider how the human flesh was framed,
When both our parents at the first were made."

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT

The Poet ascends with Beatrice to the third heaven, which is the planet Venus; and here finds the soul of Charles Martel, king of Hungary, who had been Dante's friend on earth, and who now, after speaking of the realms to which he was heir, unfolds the cause why children differ in disposition from their parents.

THE world [1] was, in its day of peril dark,
Wont to believe the dotage of fond love,
From the fair Cyprian deity, who rolls
In her third epicycle,[2] shed on men
By stream of potent radiance: therefore they
Of elder time, in their old error blind,
Not her alone with sacrifice adored
And invocation, but like honours paid
To Cupid and Dione, deem'd of them
Her mother, and her son, him whom they feign'd
To sit in Dido's bosom: [3] and from her,
Whom I have sung preluding, borrow'd they

[1] *The world.*] The Poet, on his arrival at the third heaven, tells us that the world, in its days of heathen darkness, believed the influence of sensual love to proceed from the star, to which, under the name of Venus, they paid divine honours; as they worshipped the supposed mother and son of Venus, under the names of Dione and Cupid.

[2] *Epicycle.*] ——the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle. *Milton, P. L.*, b. viii. 84.

"In sul dosso di questo cerchio," etc. *Convito*, ii. 4. "Upon the back of this circle, in the heaven of Venus, whereof we are now treating, is a little sphere, which has in that heaven a revolution of its own; whose circle the astronomers term epicycle."

[3] *To sit in Dido's bosom.*] Virgil, Æn. lib. i. 718.

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The appellation of that star, which views
Now obvious,[1] and now averse, the sun.
I was not ware that I was wafted up
Into its orb ; but the new loveliness,
That graced my lady, gave me ample proof
That we had enter'd there. And as in flame
A sparkle is distinct, or voice in voice
Discern'd, when one its even tenour keeps,
The other comes and goes ; so in that light
I other luminaries saw, that coursed
In circling motion, rapid more or less,
As their[2] eternal vision each impels.
Never was blast from vapour charged with cold,
Whether invisible to eye or no,[3]
Descended with such speed, it had not seem'd
To linger in dull tardiness, compared
To those celestial lights, that towards us came,
Leaving the circuit of their joyous ring,
Conducted by the lofty seraphim.
And after them, who in the van appear'd,
Such an Hosanna sounded as hath left
Desire, ne'er since extinct in me, to hear
Renew'd the strain. Then, parting from the rest,
One near us drew, and sole began : "We all
Are ready at thy pleasure, well disposed
To do thee gentle service. We are they

[1] *Now obvious.*] Being at one part of the year, a morning, and at another an evening star. So Frezzi :—

——— Il raggio della stella
Che 'l sol vagheggia or drieto or davanti.
Il Quadrir. lib. i. cap. i.

——— whose ray,
Being page and usher to the day,
Does mourn behind the sun, before him play. *John Hall.*

[2] *As their.*] As each, according to their several deserts, partakes more or less of the beatific vision.

[3] *Whether invisible to eye or no.*] He calls the blast invisible, if unattended by gross vapour ; otherwise, visible.

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To whom thou in the world erewhile didst sing ;
'O ye ! whose intellectual ministry [1]
'Moves the third heaven :' and in one orb we roll,
One motion, one impulse, with those who rule
Princedoms in heaven ; [2] yet are of love so full,
That to please thee 'twill be as sweet to rest."
After mine eyes had with meek reverence
Sought the celestial guide, and were by her
Assured, they turn'd again unto the light,
Who had so largely promised ; and with voice
That bare the lively pressure of my zeal,
"Tell who ye are," I cried. Forthwith it grew
In size and splendour, through augmented joy ;
And thus it answer'd : "A short date, below,
The world possess'd me. Had the time been more, [3]
Much evil, that will come, had never chanced.
My gladness hides thee from me, which doth shine
Around, and shroud me, as an animal
In its own silk enswathed. Thou lovedst me well, [4]

[1] '*O ye ! whose intellectual ministry.*]

Voi ch' intendendo il terzo ciel movete.

The first line in our Poet's first Canzone. See his Convito, ii. 1.

[2] *Princedoms in heaven.*] See Canto xxviii. 112, where the princedoms are, as here, made co-ordinate with this third sphere. In his Convito, ii. 6, he has ranked them differently, making the thrones the moving intelligences of Venus.

[3] *Had the time been more.*] The spirit now speaking is Charles Martel, crowned king of Hungary, and son of Charles II. king of Naples and Sicily, to which dominions, dying in his father's lifetime, he did not succeed. The evil, that would have been prevented by the longer life of Charles Martel, was that resistance which his brother Robert, king of Sicily, who succeeded him, made to the Emperor Henry VII. See G. Villani, lib. ix. cap. xxxviii.

[4] *Thou lovedst me well.*] Charles Martel might have been known to our Poet at Florence, whither he came to meet his father in 1295, the year of his death. The retinue and the habiliments of the young monarch are minutely described by G. Villani, who adds, that "he remained more than twenty days in Florence, waiting for his father King Charles and his brothers; during which time great

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And hadst good cause ; for had my sojourning
Been longer on the earth, the love I bare thee
Had put forth more than blossoms. The left bank,[1]
That Rhone, when he hath mix'd with Sorga, laves,
In me its lord expected, and that horn
Of fair Ausonia,[2] with its boroughs old,
Bari, and Croton,[3] and Gaeta piled,
From where the Trento disembogues his waves,
With Verde mingled, to the salt-sea flood.
Already on my temples beam'd the crown,
Which gave me sovereignty over the land[4]
By Danube wash'd, whenas he strays beyond
The limits of his German shores. The realm,
Where, on the gulf by stormy Eurus lash'd,
Betwixt Pelorus and Pachynian heights,
The beautiful Trinacria[5] lies in gloom
(Not through Typhœus,[6] but the vapoury cloud
Bituminous upsteam'd), *that* too did look
To have its sceptre wielded by a race
Of monarchs, sprung through me from Charles and Rodolph ;[7]

honour was done him by the Florentines, and he showed no less love towards them, and he was much in favour with all." Lib. viii. cap. xiii. His brother Robert, king of Naples, was the friend of Petrarch.

1 *The left bank.*] Provence.

2 ——— *That horn*
Of fair Ausonia.] The kingdom of Naples.

3 The correct reading is almost certainly, not *Crotona*, but *Catona*.

4 *The land.*] Hungary.

5 *The beautiful Trinacria.*] Sicily; so called from its three promontories, of which Pachynus and Pelorus, here mentioned, are two.

6 *Typhœus.*] The giant, whom Jupiter is fabled to have overwhelmed under the mountain Ætna, from whence he vomited forth smoke and flame.

7 *Sprung through me from Charles and Rodolph.*] "Sicily would be still ruled by a race of monarchs, descended through me from Charles I. and Rodolph I., the former my grandfather, king of Naples and Sicily; the latter, emperor of Germany, my father-in-law;" both celebrated in the Purgatory, Canto vii.

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Had not ill-lording,[1] which doth desperate make[2]
The people ever, in Palermo raised
The shout of 'death,' re-echoed loud and long.
Had but my brother's foresight[3] kenn'd as much,
He had been warier, that the greedy want
Of Catalonia might not work his bale.
And truly need there is that he forecast,
Or other for him, lest more freight be laid
On his already over-laden bark.
Nature in him, from bounty fallen to thrift,
Would ask the guard of braver arms, than such
As only care to have their coffers fill'd."
"My liege! it doth enhance the joy thy words
Infuse into me, mighty as it is,
To think my gladness manifest to thee,
As to myself, who own it, when thou look'st
Into the source and limit of all good,
There, where thou markest that which thou dost speak,
Thence prized of me the more. Glad thou hast made me:

[1] *Had not ill-lording.*] "If the ill conduct of our governors in Sicily had not excited the resentment and hatred of the people, and stimulated them to that dreadful massacre at the Sicilian vespers;" in consequence of which the kingdom fell into the hands of Peter III. of Arragon, in 1282.

Miracol parve ad ogni persona
Che ad una voce tutta la Cicilia
Si rubellò dall' una all' altra nona,
Gridando, mora mora la famiglia
Di Carlo, mora mora gli franceschi,
E così ne tagliò ben otto miglia.
O quanto i forestier che giungon freschi
Nell' altrui terre, denno esser corteși,
Fuggir lussuria e non esser maneschi.
Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, lib. ii. cap. 39.

[2] *Desperate make.*] "Accuora." Monti in his Proposta construes this "afflicts". Vellutello's interpretation of it, which is "makes desperate," appears to be nearer the mark.

[3] *My brother's foresight.*] He seems to tax his brother Robert with employing necessitous and greedy Catalonians to administer the affairs of his kingdom.

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Now make intelligent, clearing the doubt
Thy speech hath raised in me ; for much I muse,
How bitter can spring up,[1] when sweet is sown."
I thus inquiring ; he forthwith replied :
"If I have power to show one truth, soon that
Shall face thee, which thy questioning declares
Behind thee now conceal'd. The Good,[2] that guides
And blessed makes this realm which thou dost mount,
Ordains its providence to be the virtue
In these great bodies : nor the natures only
The all-perfect mind provides for, but with them
That which preserves them too ; for nought, that lies
Within the range of that unerring bow,
But is as level with the destined aim,
As ever mark to arrow's point opposed.
Were it not thus, these heavens, thou dost visit,
Would their effect so work, it would not be
Art, but destruction ; and this may not chance,
If the intellectual powers, that move these stars,

[1] *How bitter can spring up.*] "How a covetous son can spring from a liberal father." Yet that father has himself been accused of avarice in the Purgatory, Canto xx. 78; though his general character was that of a bounteous prince.

[2] *The Good.*]. The Supreme Being uses these spheres as the intelligent instruments of his providence in the conduct of terrestrial natures; so that these natures cannot but be conducted aright, unless these heavenly bodies should themselves fail from not having been made perfect at first, or the Creator of them should fail. To this Dante replies, that nature, he is satisfied, thus directed must do her part. Charles Martel then reminds him, that he had learned from Aristotle, that human society requires a variety of conditions, and consequently a variety of qualifications in its members. Accordingly, men, he concludes, are born with different powers and capacities, caused by the influence of the heavenly bodies at the time of their nativity; on which influence, and not on their parents, those powers and capacities depend. Having thus resolved the question proposed, Charles Martel adds, by way of corollary, that the want of observing their natural bent in the destination of men to their several offices in life, is the occasion of much of the disorder that prevails in the world.

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Fail not, and who, first faulty made them, fail.
Wilt thou this truth more clearly evidenced?"
To whom I thus: "It is enough: no fear,
I see, lest nature in her part should tire."
He straight rejoin'd: "Say, were it worse for man,
If he lived not in fellowship on earth?"
"Yea," answer'd I; "nor here a reason needs."
"And may that be, if different estates
Grow not of different duties in your life?
Consult your teacher,[1] and he tells you 'no'."
Thus did he come, deducing to this point,
And then concluded: "For this cause behoves,
The roots, from whence your operations come,
Must differ. Therefore one is Solon born;
Another, Xerxes; and Melchisedec
A third; and he a fourth, whose airy voyage
Cost him his son.[2] In her circuitous course,
Nature, that is the seal to mortal wax,
Doth well her art, but no distinction owns
'Twixt one or other household. Hence befals
That Esau is so wide of Jacob:[3] hence

[1] *Consult your teacher.*] Aristotle, ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἀνομοίων ἡ πόλις, κ. τ. λ. De Rep. lib. iii. cap. 4. "Since a state is made up of members differing from one another; (for even as an animal, in the first instance, consists of soul and body; and the soul, of reason and desire; and a family, of man and woman; and property, of master and slave; in like manner a state consists both of all these, and besides these of other dissimilar kinds); it necessarily follows, that the excellence of all the members of the state cannot be one and the same."

[2] —— *Whose airy voyage*
Cost him his son.] Dædalus.

[3] *Esau is so wide of Jacob.*] Genesis, xxv. 22. Venturi blames our Poet for selecting an instance, which, as that commentator says, proves the direct contrary of that which he intended, as they were born under the same ascendant; and, therefore, if the stars had any influence, the two brothers should have been born with the same temperament and disposition. This objection is well answered by Lombardi, who quotes a passage from Roger Bacon, to show that the smallest diversity of place was held to make a diversity in the

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Quirinus [1] of so base a father springs,
He dates from Mars his lineage. Were it not
That Providence celestial overruled,
Nature, in generation, must the path
Traced by the generator still pursue
Unswervingly. Thus place I in thy sight
That, which was late behind thee. But, in sign
Of more affection for thee, 'tis my will
Thou wear this corollary. Nature ever,
Finding discordant fortune, like all seed
Out of its proper climate, thrives but ill.
And were the world below content to mark
And work on the foundation nature lays,
It would not lack supply of excellence.
But ye perversely to religion strain
Him, who was born to gird on him the sword,
And of the fluent phraseman make your king :
Therefore [2] your steps have wander'd from the path."

influence of the heavenly bodies, so as to occasion an entire discrepancy even between children in the same womb. It must be recollected, that whatever power may be attributed to the stars by our Poet, he does not suppose it to put any constraint on the freedom of the human will; so that chimerical as his opinion appears to us, it was, in a moral point of view at least, harmless.

[1] *Quirinus.*] Romulus, born of so obscure a father, that his parentage was attributed to Mars.

[2] *Therefore.*] "The wisdom of God hath divided the genius of men according to the different affairs of the world; and varied their inclinations according to the variety of actions to be performed therein. Which they who consider not, rudely rushing upon professions and ways of life unequal to their natures, dishonour not only themselves and their functions, but pervert the harmony of the whole world." *Brown, on Vulgar Errors*, b. i. ch. 5.

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CANTO IX

ARGUMENT

The next spirit, who converses with our Poet in the planet Venus, is the amorous Cunizza. To her succeeds Folco, or Folquet, the Provençal bard, who declares that the soul of Rahab the harlot is there also; and then, blaming the Pope for his neglect of the holy land, prognosticates some reverse to the papal power.

AFTER solution of my doubt, thy Charles,
O fair Clemenza,[1] of the treachery [2] spake,
That must befal his seed : but, "Tell it not,"
Said he, "and let the destined years come round."
Nor may I tell thee more, save that the meed
Of sorrow well-deserved shall quit your wrongs.
And now the visage of that saintly light [3]
Was to the sun, that fills it, turn'd again,
As to the good, whose plenitude of bliss
Sufficeth all. O ye misguided souls !
Infatuate, who from such a good estrange
Your hearts, and bend your gaze on vanity,
Alas for you !—And lo ! toward me, next,
Another of those splendent forms approach'd,
That, by its outward brightening, testified
The will it had to pleasure me. The eyes
Of Beatrice, resting, as before,
Firmly upon me, manifested forth
Approval of my wish. "And O," I cried,

[1] *O fair Clemenza.*] Daughter of Charles Martel, and second wife of Louis X. of France. [According to some, Charles' widow, Clemence of Hapsburg, is intended.]

[2] *The treachery.*] He alludes to the occupation of the kingdom of Sicily by Robert, in exclusion of his brother's son Carobert, or Charles Robert, the rightful heir. See G. Villani, lib. viii. c. cxii

[3] *That saintly light.*] Charles Martel.

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"Blest spirit! quickly be my will perform'd;
And prove thou to me,[1] that my inmost thoughts
I can reflect on thee." Thereat the light,
That yet was new to me, from the recess,
Where it before was singing, thus began,
As one who joys in kindness: "In that part[2]
Of the depraved Italian land, which lies
Between Rialto and the fountain-springs
Of Brenta and of Piava, there doth rise,
But to no lofty eminence, a hill,
From whence erewhile a firebrand did descend,
That sorely shent the region. From one root
I and it sprang; my name on earth Cunizza:[3]
And here I glitter, for that by its light
This star o'ercame me. Yet I nought repine,[4]
Nor grudge myself the cause of this my lot:
Which haply vulgar hearts can scarce conceive.
"This[5] jewel, that is next me in our heaven,

[1] *Prove thou to me.*] The thoughts of all created minds being seen by the Deity, and all that is in the Deity being the object of vision to beatified spirits, such spirits must consequently see the thoughts of all created minds. Dante therefore requests of the spirit, who now approaches him, a proof of this truth with regard to his own thoughts. See v. 70.

[2] *In that part.*] Between Rialto in the Venetian territory, and the sources of the rivers Brenta and Piava, is situated a castle called Romano, the birth-place of the famous tyrant Ezzolino or Azzolino, the brother of Cunizza who is now speaking. The tyrant we have seen in "the river of blood". Hell, Canto xii. v. 110.

[3] *Cunizza.*] The adventures of Cunizza, overcome by the influence of her star, are related by the chronicler Rolandino of Padua, lib. i. cap. 3, in Muratori, Rer. It. Script. tom. viii. p. 173. She eloped from her first husband, Richard of St. Boniface, in the company of Sordello (see Purg. Canto vi. and vii.), with whom she is supposed to have cohabited before her marriage: then lived with a soldier of Trevigi, whose wife was living at the same time in the same city; and on his being murdered by her brother the tyrant, was by her brother married to a nobleman of Braganzo: lastly, when he also had fallen by the same hand, she, after her brother's death, was again wedded in Verona.

[4] *Yet I nought repine.*] "I am not dissatisfied that I am not allotted a higher place."

[5] *This.*] [Folquet of Marseilles, famous troubadour; he became bishop of Toulouse in 1205, and died in 1231.] One of his verses is cited by Dante, De Vulg. Eloq. lib. ii. c. 6.

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Lustrous and costly, great renown hath left,
And not to perish, ere these hundred years
Five times [1] absolve their round. Consider thou,
If to excel be worthy man's endeavour,
When such life may attend the first.[2] Yet they
Care not for this, the crowd [3] that now are girt
By Adice and Tagliamento, still
Impenitent, though scourged. The hour is near [4]
When for their stubbornness, at Padua's marsh
The water shall be changed, that laves Vicenza.
And where Cagnano meets with Sile, one [5]
Lords it, and bears his head aloft, for whom
The web [6] is now a-warping. Feltro [7] too
Shall sorrow for its godless shepherd's fault,
Of so deep stain, that never, for the like,
Was Malta's [8] bar unclosed. Too large should be

[1] *Five times.*] The five hundred years are elapsed: and unless the Provençal MSS. should be brought to light, the poetical reputation of Folquet must rest on the mention made of him by the more fortunate Italians.—What I scarcely ventured to hope at the time this note was written, has been accomplished by the great learning and diligence of M. Raynouard. See his Choix des Poésies des Troubadours and Lexique Roman, in which Folquet and his Provençal brethren are awakened into the second life augured to them by our Poet.

[2] *When such life may attend the first.*] When the mortal life of man may be attended by so lasting and glorious a memory, which is a kind of second life.

[3] *The crowd.*] The people who inhabited the tract of country bounded by the river Tagliamento to the east and Adice to the west.

[4] *The hour is near.*] Cunizza foretells the defeat of Giacopo da Carrara and the Paduans, by Can Grande, at Vicenza, on the 18th September, 1314. See G. Villani, lib. ix. cap. lxii.

[5] *One.*] She predicts also the fate of Riccardo da Camino, who is said to have been murdered at Trevigi (where the rivers Sile and Cagnano meet), while he was engaged in playing at chess.

[6] *The web.*] The net, or snare, into which he is destined to fall.

[7] *Feltro.*] The bishop of Feltro having received a number of fugitives from Ferrara, under a promise of protection, afterwards gave them up; so that they were reconducted to that city, and the greater part of them there put to death.

[8] *Malta's.*] A tower, either in the citadel of Padua, which, under the tyranny of Ezzolino, had been "with many a foul and midnight murder fed"; or (as some say) near a river of the same

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The skillet [1] that would hold Ferrara's blood,
And wearied he, who ounce by ounce would weigh it,
The which this priest,[2] in show of party-zeal,
Courteous will give ; nor will the gift ill suit
The country's custom. We descry [3] above
Mirrors, ye call them thrones, from which to us
Reflected shine the judgments of our God :
Whence these our sayings we avouch for good."
She ended ; and appear'd on other thoughts
Intent, re-entering on the wheel she late
Had left. That other joyance [4] meanwhile wax'd
A thing to marvel at,[5] in splendour glowing,
Like choicest ruby [6] stricken by the sun.
For, in that upper clime, effulgence [7] comes
Of gladness, as here laughter : and below,
As the mind saddens, murkier grows the shade.

name, that falls into the lake of Bolsena, in which the Pope was accustomed to imprison such as had been guilty of an irremissible sin.

[1] *The skillet.*] The blood shed could not be contained in such a vessel, if it were of the usual size.

[2] *This priest.*] The bishop who had committed the above-mentioned act of treachery. Troya calls him Alessandro Novello, and relates the circumstances at full. Veltro Allegorico, p. 139.

[3] *We descry.*] "We behold the things that we predict, in the mirrors of eternal truth."

[4] *That other joyance.*] Folquet.

[5] *A thing to marvel at.*] Preclara cosa. A Latinism according to Venturi; but the word "preclara" had been already naturalised by Guido Guinicelli:

Oro ed argento e ricche gioje preclare.

See the sonnet, of which a version has been given in a note to Purg. Canto xi. v. 96.

[6] *Choicest ruby.*] Balascio.

No saphire in Inde no rube rich of grace
There lacked then, nor emeraude so green,
Bales. *Chaucer, The Court of Love.*

Mr. Tyrwhitt, I should suppose erroneously as to the sense at least intended by Chaucer, calls it "a sort of bastard ruby".

[7] *Effulgence.*] As joy is expressed by laughter on earth, so is it by an increase of splendour in Paradise; and, on the contrary, grief is betokened in Hell by augmented darkness.

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"God seeth all: and in him is thy sight,"
Said I, "blest spirit! Therefore will of his
Cannot to thee be dark. Why then delays
Thy voice to satisfy my wish untold;
That voice, which joins the inexpressive song,
Pastime of heaven, the which those ardours sing,
That cowl them with six shadowing wings[1] out-
spread?
I would not wait thy asking, wert thou known
To me, as throughly I to thee am known."
He, forthwith answering, thus his words began:
"The valley of waters,[2] widest next to that[3]
Which doth the earth engarland, shapes its course,
Between discordant shores,[4] against the sun
Inward so far, it makes meridian[5] there,
Where was before the horizon. Of that vale
Dwelt I upon the shore, 'twixt Ebro's stream
And Macra's,[6] that divides with passage brief
Genoan bounds from Tuscan. East and west
Are nearly one to Begga[7] and my land
Whose haven[8] erst was with its own blood warm.

[1] *Six shadowing wings.*] "Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings." *Isaiah*, vi. 2. Ante majestatis ejus gloriam cherubim senas habentes alas semper adstantes non cessant clamare, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus. *Alberici Visio*, § 39.

——— six wings he wore to shade
His lineaments divine. *Milton, P. L.* b. v. 278.

[2] *The valley of waters.*] The Mediterranean sea.

[3] *That.*] The great ocean.

[4] *Discordant shores.*] Europe and Africa.

[5] *Meridian.*] Extending to the east, the Mediterranean at last reaches the coast of Palestine, which is on its horizon when it enters the Straits of Gibraltar. "Wherever a man is," says Vellutello, "there he has, above his head, his own particular meridian circle."

[6] ——— *'Twixt Ebro's stream*
And Macra's.] Ebro to the west, and Macra to the east of Marseilles, where Folquet was born.

[7] *Begga.*] A place in Africa.

[8] *Whose haven.*] Alluding to the slaughter of the inhabitants

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Who knew my name, were wont to call me Folco;
And I did bear impression of this heaven,[1]
That now bears mine: for not with fiercer flame
Glow'd Belus' daughter,[2] injuring alike
Sichæus and Creusa, than did I,
Long as it suited the unripen'd down
That fledged my cheek; nor she of Rhodope,[3]
That was beguiled of Demophoon;
Nor Jove's son,[4] when the charms of Iole
Were shrined within his heart. And yet there bides
No sorrowful repentance here, but mirth,
Not for the fault (that doth not come to mind),
But for the virtue, whose o'erruling sway
And providence have wrought thus quaintly. Here
The skill is look'd into, that fashioneth
With such effectual working,[5] and the good
Discern'd, accruing to the lower world[6]
From this above. But fully to content
Thy wishes all that in this sphere have birth,
Demands my further parle. Inquire thou wouldst,
Who of this light is denizen, that here
Beside me sparkles, as the sun-beam doth

of Marseilles made in the time of Julius Cæsar. Fazio degli Uberti describes Buggea or Begga as looking towards Majorca.

Vidi Buggea che vè di grande loda;
Questa nel mare Maiorica guata.
Dittamondo, l. v. cap. 6.

1 *This heaven.*] The planet Venus, by which Folquet declares himself to have been formerly influenced.

2 *Belus' daughter.*] Dido.

3 *She of Rhodope.*] Phyllis.

4 *Jove's son.*] Hercules.

5 *With such effectual working.*] All the editions, except the Nidobeatina, do not, as Lombardi affirms, read "contanto"; for Vellutello's of 1544 is certainly one exception.

6 *To the lower world.*] I have altered my former translation here, in compliance with a reading adopted by Lombardi from the Nidobeatina, Perche 'l mondo instead of Perche al mondo. But the passage is still obscure.

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On the clear wave. Know then, the soul of Rahab[1]
Is in that gladsome harbour ; to our tribe
United, and the foremost rank assign'd.
She to this heaven,[2] at which the shadow ends
Of your sublunar world, was taken up,
First, in Christ's triumph, of all souls redeem'd :
For well behoved, that, in some part of heaven,
She should remain a trophy, to declare
The mighty conquest won with either palm ;[3]
For that she favour'd first the high exploit
Of Joshua on the holy land, whereof
The Pope[4] recks little now. Thy city, plant
Of him,[5] that on his Maker turn'd the back,
And of whose envying so much woe hath sprung,
Engenders and expands the cursed flower,[6]
That hath made wander both the sheep and lambs,
Turning the shepherd to a wolf. For this,
The gospel and great teachers laid aside,
The decretals,[7] as their stuft margins show,

1 *Rahab.*] Heb. xi. 31.

2 *This heaven.*] "This planet of Venus, at which the shadow of the earth ends, as Ptolemy writes in his Almagest." *Vellutello.*

3 *With either palm.*] By both his hands nailed to the cross.

4 *The Pope.*] "Who cares not that the holy land is in the possession of the Saracens." See also Canto xv. 136.

> Ite superbi, O miseri Christiani
> Consumando l' un l' altro; e non vi caglia
> Che 'l sepolcro di Cristo è in man di cani.
> *Petrarca, Trionfo della Fama*, cap. ii.

5 *Of him.*] Of Satan.

6 *The cursed flower.*] The coin of Florence, called the floren; the covetous desire of which has excited the Pope to so much evil.

7 *The decretals.*] The canon law. So in the De Monarchiâ, lib. iii. cap. 3. "There are also a third set, whom they call Decretalists. These, alike ignorant of theology and philosophy, relying wholly on their decretals (which I indeed esteem not unworthy of reverence), in the hope I suppose of obtaining for them a paramount influence, derogate from the authority of the empire. Nor is this to be wondered at, when I have heard one of them saying, and impudently maintaining, that traditions are the foundation of the faith of the church." He proceeds to confute this opinion, and concludes "that the church does not derive its authority from traditions, but traditions from the church": "necesse est, ut non

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Are the sole study. Pope and Cardinals,
Intent on these, ne'er journey but in thought
To Nazareth, where Gabriel oped his wings.
Yet it may chance, ere long, the Vatican,[1]
And other most selected parts of Rome,
That were the grave of Peter's soldiery,
Shall be deliver'd from the adulterous bond."

CANTO X

ARGUMENT

Their next ascent carries them into the sun, which is the fourth heaven. Here they are encompassed with a wreath of blessed spirits, twelve in number. Thomas Aquinas, who is one of these, declares the names and endowments of the rest.

Looking into his first-born with the love,
Which breathes from both eternal, the first Might
Ineffable, wherever eye or mind
Can roam, hath in such order all disposed,
As none may see and fail to enjoy. Raise, then,
O reader! to the lofty wheels, with me,

ecclesiæ a traditionibus, sed ab ecclesiâ traditionibus accedat authoritas". In accordance with the sentiments of Dante on this point, the Church of England has framed that article, so well worthy of being duly considered and carried into practice, which begins: "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word." *Article* xxxiv.

[1] *The Vatican.*] He alludes either to the death of Pope Boniface VIII. or, as Venturi supposes, to the coming of the Emperor Henry VII. into Italy; or else, according to the yet more probable conjecture of Lombardi, to the transfer of the holy see from Rome to Avignon, which took place in the pontificate of Clement V.

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Thy ken directed to the point,[1] whereat
One motion strikes on the other. There begin
Thy wonder of the mighty Architect,
Who loves his work so inwardly, his eye
Doth ever watch it. See, how thence oblique [2]
Brancheth the circle, where the planets roll
To pour their wished influence on the world ;
Whose path not bending thus, in heaven above [3]
Much virtue would be lost, and here on earth
All power well nigh extinct : or, from direct
Were its departure distant more or less,
I' the universal order, great defect
Must, both in heaven and here beneath, ensue.
Now rest thee, reader ! on thy bench, and muse
Anticipative of the feast to come ;
So shall delight make thee not feel thy toil.
Lo ! I have set before thee ; for thyself
Feed now : the matter I indite, henceforth
Demands entire my thought. Join'd with the part,[4]
Which late we told of, the great minister [5]
Of nature, that upon the world imprints
The virtue of the heaven, and doles out

[1] *The point.*] "To that part of heaven," as Venturi explains it, "in which the equinoctial circle and the zodiac intersect each other, where the common motion of the heavens from east to west may be said to strike with greatest force against the motion proper to the planets: and this repercussion, as it were, is here the strongest, because the velocity of each is increased to the utmost by their respective distance from the poles. Such at least is the system of Dante."

[2] *Oblique.*] The zodiac.

[3] *In heaven above.*] If the planets did not preserve that order in which they move, they would not receive nor transmit their due influences: and if the zodiac were not thus oblique; if towards the north it either passed, or went short of the tropic of Cancer, or else towards the south it passed, or went short of the tropic of Capricorn, it would not divide the seasons as it now does.

[4] *The part.*] The above-mentioned intersection of the equinoctial circle and the zodiac.

[5] *Minister.*] The sun.

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Time for us with his beam, went circling on
Along the spires,[1] where [2] each hour sooner comes ;
And I was with him, weetless of ascent,
But as a man,[3] that weets him come, ere thinking.
For Beatrice, she who passeth on
So suddenly from good to better, time
Counts not the act, oh then how great must needs
Have been her brightness! What there was i' th' sun
(Where I had enter'd), not through change of hue,
But light transparent—did I summon up
Genius, art, practice—I might not so speak,
It should be e'er imagined : yet believed
It may be, and the sight be justly craved.
And if our fantasy fail of such height,
What marvel, since no eye above the sun
Hath ever travel'd ? Such are they dwell here,
Fourth family [4] of the Omnipotent Sire,
Who of his spirit and of his offspring [5] shows ;
And holds them still enraptured with the view.
And thus to me Beatrice : "Thank, oh thank
The Sun of angels, him, who by his grace
To this perceptible hath lifted thee."
Never was heart in such devotion bound,
And with complacency so absolute
Disposed to render up itself to God,
As mine was at those words : and so entire
The love for Him, that held me, it eclipsed

[1] *Along the spires.*] According to our Poet's system, as the earth is motionless, the sun passes, by a spiral motion, from one tropic to the other.

[2] *Where.*] In which the sun rises every day earlier after the vernal equinox.

[3] *But as a man.*] That is, he was quite insensible of it.

[4] *Fourth family.*] The inhabitants of the sun, the fourth planet.

[5] *Of his spirit and of his offspring.*] The procession of the third, and the generation of the second person in the Trinity.

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Beatrice in oblivion. Nought displeased
Was she, but smiled thereat so joyously,
That of her laughing eyes the radiance brake
And scatter'd my collected mind abroad.
Then saw I a bright band, in liveliness
Surpassing, who themselves did make the crown,
And us their centre : yet more sweet in voice,
Than, in their visage, beaming. Cinctured thus,
Sometime Latona's daughter we behold,
When the impregnate air retains the thread
That weaves her zone. In the celestial court,
Whence I return, are many jewels found,
So dear and beautiful, they cannot brook
Transporting from that realm : and of these lights
Such was the song.[1] Who doth not prune his wing
To soar up thither, let him[2] look from thence
For tidings from the dumb. When, singing thus,
Those burning suns had circled round us thrice,
As nearest stars around the fixed pole ;
Then seem'd they like to ladies, from the dance
Not ceasing, but suspense, in silent pause,
Listening, till they have caught the strain anew :
Suspended so they stood : and, from within,
Thus heard I one, who spake : " Since with its beam
The grace, whence true love lighteth first his flame,
That after doth increase by loving, shines
So multiplied in thee, it leads thee up
Along this ladder, down whose hallow'd steps
None e'er descend, and mount them not again ;
Who from his phial should refuse thee wine

[1] *Such was the song.*] The song of these spirits was ineffable. It was like a jewel so highly prized, that the exportation of it to another country is prohibited by law.

[2] *Let him.*] Let him not expect any intelligence at all of that place, for it surpasses description.

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To slake thy thirst, no less constrained[1] were,
Than water flowing not unto the sea.
Thou fain wouldst hear, what plants are these, that bloom
In the bright garland, which, admiring, girds
This fair dame round, who strengthens thee for heaven.
I, then,[2] was of the lambs, that Dominic
Leads, for his saintly flock, along the way
Where well they thrive, not swoln with vanity.
He, nearest on my right hand, brother was,
And master to me: Albert of Cologne[3]
Is this; and, of Aquinum, Thomas[4] I.

[1] *No less constrained.*] "The rivers might as easily cease to flow towards the sea, as we could deny thee thy request."

[2] *I, then.*] "I was of the Dominican order."

[3] *Albert of Cologne.*] Albertus Magnus was born at Lavingen, in Thuringia, in 1193, and studied at Paris and at Padua; at the latter of which places he entered into the Dominican order. He then taught theology in various parts of Germany, and particularly at Cologne. Thomas Aquinas was his favourite pupil. In 1260, he reluctantly accepted the bishopric of Ratisbon, and in two years after resigned it, and returned to his cell in Cologne, where the remainder of his life was passed in superintending the school, and in composing his voluminous works on divinity and natural science. He died in 1280. The absurd imputation of his having dealt in the magical art is well known; and his biographers take some pains to clear him of it. Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum, by Quetif and Echard. Lut. Par. 1719, fol. tom. i. p. 162. Frezzi places Albertus Magnus next in rank to Aristotle:—

Alberto Magno è dopo lui 'l secondo:
Egli suppli li membri, e 'l vestimento
Alla Filosofia in questo mondo.
Il Quadrir. lib. iv. cap. 9.

[4] *Of Aquinum, Thomas.*] Thomas Aquinas, of whom Bucer is reported to have said, "Take but Thomas away, and I will overturn the church of Rome"; and whom Hooker terms "the greatest among the school divines." (*Eccl. Pol.* b. iii. § 9), was born of noble parents, who anxiously but vainly endeavoured to divert him from a life of celibacy and study. He died in 1274, at the age of forty-seven. Echard and Quetif, *ibid.* p. 271. See also Purgatory, Canto xx. v. 67. A modern French writer has collected some particulars relating to the influence which the writings of Thomas Aquinas and Buonaventura had on the opinions of Dante. See the third part of Ozanam's Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au treizième siècle. 8°. Par. 1839.

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If thou of all the rest wouldst be assured,
Let thine eye, waiting on the words I speak,
In circuit journey round the blessed wreath.
That next resplendence issues from the smile
Of Gratian,[1] who to either forum[2] lent
Such help, as favour wins in Paradise.
The other, nearest, who adorns our quire,
Was Peter,[3] he that with the widow gave[4]
To holy church his treasure. The fifth light,[5]
Goodliest of all, is by such love inspired,
That all your world craves tidings of his doom:[6]
Within, there is the lofty light, endow'd
With sapience so profound, if truth be truth,
That with a ken of such wide amplitude
No second hath arisen. Next behold
That taper's radiance,[7] to whose view was shown,

[1] *Gratian.*] "Gratian, a Benedictine monk belonging to the Convent of St. Felix and Nabor, at Bologna, and by birth a Tuscan, composed, about the year 1130, for the use of the schools, an abridgment or epitome of canon law, drawn from the letters of the pontiffs, the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors." *Maclaine's Mosheim*, v. iii. cent. xii. part ii. cap. i. § 6.

[2] *To either forum.*] "By reconciling," as Venturi explains it, "the civil with the canon law."

[3] *Peter.*] "Pietro Lombardo was of obscure origin, nor is the place of his birth in Lombardy ascertained. With a recommendation from the Bishop of Lucca to St. Bernard, he went into France to continue his studies; and for that purpose remained some time at Rheims, whence he afterwards proceeded to Paris. Here his reputation was so great, that Philip, brother of Louis VII., being chosen Bishop of Paris, resigned that dignity to Pietro, whose pupil he had been. He held his bishopric only one year, and died 1160. His Liber Sententiarum is highly esteemed. It contains a system of scholastic theology, so much more complete than any which had been yet seen, that it may be deemed an original work." *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* tom. iii. lib. iv. cap. ii.

[4] *That with the widow gave.*] This alludes to the beginning of the Liber Sententiarum, where Peter says: "Cupiens aliquid de penuriâ ac tenuitate nostrâ cum pauperculâ in gazophylacium domini mittere, etc."

[5] *The fifth light.*] Solomon.

[6] *His doom.*] It was a common question, it seems, whether Solomon were saved or no.

[7] *That taper's radiance.*] St. Dionysius, the Areopagite. "The famous Grecian fanatic, who gave himself out for Dionysius the

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Clearliest, the nature and the ministry
Angelical, while yet in flesh it dwelt.
In the other little light serenely smiles
That pleader [1] for the christian temples, he,
Who did provide Augustin of his lore.
Now, if thy mind's eye pass from light to light,
Upon my praises following, of the eighth [2]
Thy thirst is next. The saintly soul, that shows
The world's deceitfulness, to all who hear him,
Is, with the sight of all the good that is,
Blest there. The limbs, whence it was driven, lie
Down in Cieldauro; [3] and from martyrdom
And exile came it here. Lo! further on,
Where flames the ardurous spirit of Isidore; [4]

Areopagite, disciple of St. Paul, and who, under the protection of this venerable name, gave laws and instructions to those that were desirous of raising their souls above all human things, in order to unite them to their great source by sublime contemplation, lived most probably in this century (the fourth); though some place him before, others after, the present period." *Maclaine's Mosheim*, v. i. cent. iv. p. ii. c. iii. § 12.

[1] *That pleader.*] In the fifth century, Paulus Orosius "acquired a considerable degree of reputation by the History he wrote to refute the cavils of the Pagans against Christianity, and by his books against the Pelagians and Priscillianists." *Ibid.* v. ii. cent. v. p. ii. c. ii. § 11. A similar train of argument was pursued by Augustine, in his book De Civitate Dei. Orosius is classed by Dante, in his treatise De Vulg. Eloq. lib. ii. cap. vi. as one of his favourite authors, among those "qui usi sunt altissimas prosas,"—"who have written prose with the greatest loftiness of style". The others are Cicero, Livy, Pliny, and Frontinus. Some commentators, with less probability, suppose that this seventh spirit is Saint Ambrose, and not Orosius.

[2] *The eighth.*] Boëtius, whose book De Consolatione Philosophiæ excited so much attention during the middle ages, was born, as Tiraboschi conjectures, about 470. "In 524 he was cruelly put to death by command of Theodoric, either on real or pretended suspicion of his being engaged in a conspiracy." *Della Lett. Ital.* tom. iii. lib. i. cap. iv.

[3] *Cieldauro.*] Boëtius was buried at Pavia, in the church of St. Pietro in Ciel d'oro.

[4] *Isidore.*] He was Archbishop of Seville during forty years, and died in 636. See Mariana, Hist. lib. vi. cap. vii. Mosheim, whose critical opinions in general must be taken with some allowance, observes, that "his grammatical, theological, and historical productions, discover more learning and pedantry than judgment and taste".

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Of Bede ;[1] and Richard,[2] more than man, erewhile,
In deep discernment. Lastly this, from whom
Thy look on me reverteth, was the beam
Of one, whose spirit, on high musings bent,
Rebuked the lingering tardiness of death.
It is the eternal light of Sigebert[3]
Who escaped not envy, when of truth he argued,
Reading in the straw-litter'd street."[4] Forthwith,
As clock, that calleth up the spouse of God[5]
To win her bridegroom's love at matin's hour,
Each part of other fitly drawn and urged,
Sends out a tinkling sound, of note so sweet,
Affection springs in well-disposed breast ;
Thus saw I move the glorious wheel ; thus heard
Voice answering voice, so musical and soft,
It can be known but where day endless shines.

[1] *Bede.*] Bede, whose virtues obtained him the appellation of the Venerable, was born in 672, near Wermouth, in the bishopric of Durham, and died in 735. Invited to Rome by Pope Sergius I. he preferred passing almost the whole of his life in the seclusion of a monastery. A catalogue of his numerous writings may be seen in Kippis's Biographia Britannica, v. ii.

[2] *Richard.*] Richard of St. Victor, a native either of Scotland or Ireland, was canon and prior of the monastery of that name at Paris; and died in 1173. "He was at the head of the Mystics in this century; and his treatise, intitled the Mystical Ark, which contains as it were the marrow of this kind of theology, was received with the greatest avidity." *Maclaine's Mosheim*, v. iii. cent. xii. p. ii. c. ii. § 23.

[3] *Sigebert.*] "A monk of the abbey of Gemblours, who was in high repute at the end of the eleventh, and beginning of the twelfth century." *Dict. de Moreri.* [The person mentioned here by Dante is not Sigebert, but Siger of Brabant (Sigieri), Professor of the University of Paris, who took a prominent part in the disputes between the University and the mendicant friars as to the liberty of teaching. He was stabbed by a mad clerk at the court of Rome towards the end of cent. xiii.]

[4] *The straw-litter'd street.*] The name of a street in Paris: the "Rue de Fouarre".

[5] *The spouse of God.*] The church.

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CANTO XI

ARGUMENT

Thomas Aquinas enters at large into the life and character of St. Francis; and then solves one of two difficulties, which he perceived to have risen in Dante's mind from what he had heard in the last Canto.

O FOND anxiety of mortal men![1]
How vain and inconclusive arguments
Are those, which make thee beat thy wings below.
For statutes one, and one for aphorisms[2]
Was hunting; this the priesthood follow'd; that,
By force or sophistry, aspired to rule;
To rob, another; and another sought,
By civil business, wealth; one, moiling, lay
Tangled in net of sensual delight;
And one to wistless indolence resign'd;
What time from all these empty things escaped,
With Beatrice, I thus gloriously
Was raised aloft, and made the guest of heaven.
They of the circle to that point, each one,
Where erst it was, had turn'd; and steady glow'd,
As candle in his socket. Then within
The lustre,[3] that erewhile bespake me, smiling
With merer gladness, heard I thus begin:
"E'en as his beam illumes me, so I look
Into the eternal light, and clearly mark

[1] *O fond anxiety of mortal men.*] Lucretius, lib. ii. 14.
O miseras hominum mentes! O pectora cæca!
Qualibus in tenebris vitæ, quantisque periclis
Degitur hoc ævi quodcunque est!
[2] *Aphorisms.*] The study of medicine.
[3] *The lustre.*] The spirit of Thomas Aquinas.

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Thy thoughts, from whence they rise. Thou art
in doubt,
And wouldst that I should bolt my words afresh
In such plain open phrase, as may be smooth
To thy perception, where I told thee late
That 'well they thrive';[1] and that 'no second
such[2]
Hath risen,' which no small distinction needs.
"The Providence, that governeth the world,
In depth of counsel by created ken
Unfathomable, to the end that she,[3]
Who with loud cries was 'spoused in precious blood,
Might keep her footing towards her well-beloved,[4]
Safe in herself and constant unto him,
Hath two ordain'd, who should on either hand
In chief escort her: one,[5] seraphic all
In fervency; for wisdom upon earth,
The other,[6] splendour of cherubic light.
I but of one will tell: he tells of both,
Who one commendeth, which of them soe'er
Be taken: for their deeds were to one end.
"Between Tupino,[7] and the wave that falls
From blest Ubaldo's chosen hill, there hangs
Rich slope of mountain high, whence heat and
cold[8]
Are wafted through Perugia's eastern gate:

1 *That 'well they thrive'.*] See the last Canto, v. 93.
2 *'No second such.'*] See the last Canto, v. 111.
3 *She.*] The church.
4 *Her well-beloved.*] Jesus Christ.
5 *One.*] Saint Francis.
6 *The other.*] Saint Dominic.
7 *Tupino.*] Thomas Aquinas proceeds to describe the birthplace of Saint Francis, between Tupino, a rivulet near Assisi, or Ascesi, where the saint was born in 1182, and Chiascio, a stream that rises in a mountain near Agobbio, chosen by Saint Ubaldo for the place of his retirement.
8 *Heat and cold.*] Cold from the snow, and heat from the reflection of the sun.

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And Nocera with Gualdo, in its rear,
Mourn for their heavy yoke.[1] Upon that side,
Where it doth break its steepness most, arose
A sun upon the world, as duly this
From Ganges doth : therefore let none, who speak
Of that place, say Ascesi ; for its name
Were lamely so deliver'd ; but the East,[2]
To call things rightly, be it henceforth styled.
He was not yet much distant from his rising,
When his good influence 'gan to bless the earth.
A dame,[3] to whom none openeth pleasure's gate
More than to death, was, 'gainst his father's will,[4]
His stripling choice : and he did make her his,
Before the spiritual court,[5] by nuptial bonds,
And in his father's sight : from day to day,
Then loved her more devoutly. She, bereaved
Of her first husband,[6] slighted and obscure,
Thousand and hundred years and more, remain'd
Without a single suitor, till he came.
Nor aught avail'd, that, with Amyclas,[7] she

1 *Yoke.*] Vellutello understands this of the vicinity of the *mountain* to Nocera and Gualdo; and Venturi (as I have taken it) of the heavy impositions laid on those places by the Perugians. For *giogo*, like the Latin *jugum*, will admit of either sense.

2 *The East.*] This is the east, and Juliet is the sun. *Shakspeare.*

3 *A dame.*] There is in the under church of St. Francis, at Assisi, a picture painted by Giotto from this subject. It is considered one of the artist's best works. See Kugler's Handbook of the History of Painting, translated by a lady. *Lond.* 1842. p. 48.

4 *'Gainst his father's will.*] In opposition to the wishes of his natural father.

5 *Before the spiritual court.*] He made a vow of poverty in the presence of the bishop and of his natural father.

6 *Her first husband.*] Christ.

7 *Amyclas.*] Lucan makes Cæsar exclaim, on witnessing the secure poverty of the fisherman Amyclas :—

—— O vitæ tuta facultas
Pauperis, angustique lares ! O munera nondum
Intellecta deûm ! quibus hoc contingere templis,

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Was found unmoved at rumour of his voice,
Who shook the world: nor aught her constant boldness
Whereby with Christ she mounted on the cross,
When Mary stay'd beneath. But not to deal
Thus closely with thee longer, take at large
The lovers' titles—Poverty and Francis.
Their concord and glad looks, wonder and love,
And sweet regard gave birth to holy thoughts,
So much, that venerable Bernard [1] first
Did bare his feet, and, in pursuit of peace
So heavenly, ran, yet deem'd his footing slow.
O hidden riches! O prolific good!
Egidius [2] bares him next, and next Sylvester,[3]
And follow, both, the bridegroom: so the bride
Can please them. Thenceforth goes he on his way
The father and the master, with his spouse,
And with that family, whom now the cord [4]
Girt humbly: nor did abjectness of heart
Weigh down his eyelids, for that he was son
Of Pietro Bernardone,[5] and by men
In wonderous sort despised. But royally

Aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumultu,
Cæsareâ pulsante manu? *Phars.* lib. v. 531.

O happy poverty! thou greatest good
Bestow'd by heaven, but seldom understood!
Here nor the cruel spoiler seeks his prey,
Nor ruthless armies take their dreadful way, etc. *Rowe.*

A translation in prose of these lines is introduced by our Poet in his Convito (iv. 13).

[1] *Bernard.*] Of Quintavalle; one of the first followers of the saint.

[2] *Egidius.*] The third of his disciples, who died in 1262. His work, entitled Verba Aurea, was published in 1534, at Antwerp. See Lucas Waddingus, Annales Ordinis Minoris, p. 5.

[3] *Sylvester.*] Another of his earliest associates.

[4] *Whom now the cord.*] Saint Francis bound his body with a cord, in sign that he considered it as a beast, and that it required, like a beast, to be led by a halter.

[5] *Pietro Bernardone.*] A man in an humble station of life at Assisi.

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His hard intention he to Innocent [1]
Set forth ; and, from him, first received the seal
On his religion. Then, when numerous flock'd
The tribe of lowly ones, that traced *his* steps,
Whose marvelous life deservedly were sung
In heights empyreal ; through Honorius' [2] hand
A second crown, to deck their Guardian's virtues,
Was by the eternal Spirit inwreathed : and when
He had, through thirst of martyrdom, stood up
In the proud Soldan's presence,[3] and there preach'd
Christ and his followers, but found the race
Unripen'd for conversion ; back once more
He hasted (not to intermit his toil),
And reap'd Ausonian lands. On the hard rock,[4]
'Twixt Arno and the Tiber, he from Christ
Took the last signet,[5] which his limbs two years
Did carry. Then, the season come that he,
Who to such good had destined him, was pleased
To advance him to the meed, which he had earn'd
By his self-humbling ; to his brotherhood,
As their just heritage, he gave in charge
His dearest lady : [6] and enjoin'd their love
And faith to her ; and, from her bosom, will'd
His goodly spirit should move forth, returning
To its appointed kingdom ; nor would have
His body [7] laid upon another bier.

[1] *Innocent.*] Pope Innocent III.

[2] *Honorius.*] His successor Honorius III., who granted certain privileges to the Franciscans.

[3] *In the proud Soldan's presence.*] The Soldan of Egypt, before whom Saint Francis is said to have preached.

[4] *On the hard rock.*] The mountain Alverna in the Apennine.

[5] *The last signet.*] Alluding to the stigmata, or marks resembling the wounds of Christ, said to have been found on the saint's body.

[6] *His dearest lady.*] Poverty.

[7] *His body.*] He forbad any funeral pomp to be observed at his burial; and, as it is said, ordered that his remains should be deposited in a place where criminals were executed and interred.

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"Think now of one, who were a fit colleague
To keep the bark of Peter, in deep sea,
Helm'd to right point; and such our Patriarch[1] was.
Therefore who follow him as he enjoins,
Thou mayst be certain, take good lading in.
But hunger of new viands tempts his flock;[2]
So that they needs into strange pastures wide
Must spread them: and the more remote from him
The stragglers wander, so much more they come
Home, to the sheep-fold, destitute of milk.
There are of them, in truth, who fear their harm,
And to the shepherd cleave; but these so few,
A little stuff may furnish out their cloaks.
"Now, if my words be clear; if thou have ta'en
Good heed; if that, which I have told, recal
To mind; thy wish may be in part fulfill'd:
For thou wilt see the plant from whence they split;[3]
And he shall see, who girds him, what that means,[4]
'That well they thrive, not swoln with vanity'."

[1] *Our Patriarch.*] Saint Dominic, to whose order Thomas Aquinas belonged.

[2] *His flock.*] The Dominicans.

[3] *The plant from whence they split.*] "The rule of their order, which the Dominicans neglect to observe."

[4] *And he shall see, who girds him, what that means.*] Lombardi, after the Nidobeatina edition, together with four MSS. reads "il correggiar," or "il coregièr," which gives the sense that now stands in the text of this version. The Dominicans might be called "coreggieri," from their wearing a leathern girdle, as the Franciscans were called "cordiglieri," from their being girt with a cord. I had before followed the common reading, "il corregger"; and translated the line according to Venturi's interpretation of it:—

Nor miss of the reproof which that implies.

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CANTO XII

ARGUMENT

A second circle of glorified souls encompasses the first. Buonaventura, who is one of them, celebrates the praises of Saint Dominic, and informs Dante who the other eleven are, that are in this second circle or garland.

Soon as its final word the blessed flame [1]
Had raised for utterance, straight the holy mill [2]
Began to wheel ; nor yet had once revolved,
Or e'er another, circling, compass'd it,
Motion to motion, song to song, conjoining ;
Song, that as much our muses doth excel,
Our Syrens with their tuneful pipes, as ray
Of primal splendour doth its faint reflex.
As when, if Juno bid her handmaid forth,
Two arches parallel, and trick'd alike,
Span the thin cloud, the outer taking birth
From that within (in manner of that voice [3]
Whom love did melt away, as sun the mist)
And they who gaze, presageful call to mind
The compact, made with Noah, of the world
No more to be o'erflow'd ; about us thus,
Of sempiternal roses, bending, wreathed

[1] *The blessed flame.*] Thomas Aquinas.
[2] *The holy mill.*] The circle of spirits.
[3] *In manner of that voice.*] One rainbow giving back the image of the other, as sound is reflected by Echo, that nymph, who was melted away by her fondness for Narcissus, as vapour is melted by the sun. The reader will observe in the text not only a second and third simile within the first, but two mythological and one sacred allusion bound up together with the whole. Even after this accumulation of imagery, the two circles of spirits, by whom Beatrice and Dante were encompassed, are by a bold figure termed two garlands of never-fading roses. Indeed there is a fulness of splendour, even to prodigality, throughout the beginning of this Canto.

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Those garlands twain ; and to the innermost
E'en thus the external answer'd. When the footing,
And other great festivity, of song,
And radiance, light with light accordant, each
Jocund and blythe, had at their pleasure still'd
(E'en as the eyes, by quick volition moved,
Are shut and raised together), from the heart
Of one [1] amongst the new lights [2] moved a voice,
That made me seem [3] like needle to the star,
In turning to its whereabout ; [4] and thus
Began : "The love,[5] that makes me beautiful,
Prompts me to tell of the other guide, for whom
Such good of mine is spoken. Where one is,
The other worthily should also be ;
That as their warfare was alike, alike

[1] *One.*] Saint Buonaventura, general of the Franciscan order, in which he effected some reformation; and one of the most profound divines of his age. "He refused the archbishopric of York, which was offered him by Clement IV., but afterwards was prevailed on to accept the bishopric of Albano and a cardinal's hat. He was born at Bagnoregio or Bagnorea, in Tuscany, A.D. 1221, and died in 1274." *Dict. Histor. par Chaudon et Delandine.* Ed. Lyon. 1804.

[2] *Amongst the new lights.*] In the circle that had newly surrounded the first.

[3] *That made me seem.*] "That made me turn to it, as the magnetic needle does to the pole."

[4] *To its whereabout.*] Al suo dove.

The very stones prate of my whereabout. *Shakspeare, Macbeth,* act. ii. sc. 1.

[5] *The love.*] By an act of mutual courtesy, Buonaventura, a Franciscan, is made to proclaim the praises of St. Dominic, as Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, has celebrated those of St. Francis; and in like manner each blames the irregularities, not of the other's order, but of that to which himself belonged. Even Macchiavelli, no great friend to the church, attributes the revival of Christianity to the influence of these two saints. "Quanto alle Sette, si vede ancora queste rinovazioni esser necessarie, per l' essempio della nostra Religione, la quale, se non fusse stata ritirata verso il suo principio da San Francesco e da San Domenico, sarebbe al tutto spenta." *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di T. Livio,* lib. iii. c. 1. "As to sects, it is seen that these renovations are necessary, by the example of our religion, which, if it had not been drawn back to its principle by St. Francis and St. Dominic, would be entirely extinguished."

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Should be their glory. Slow, and full of doubt,
And with thin ranks, after its banner moved
The army of Christ (which it so dearly cost
To reappoint), when its imperial Head,
Who reigneth ever, for the drooping host
Did make provision, thorough grace alone,
And not through its deserving. As thou heard'st,[1]
Two champions to the succour of his spouse
He sent, who by their deeds and words might join
Again his scatter'd people. In that clime[2]
Where springs the pleasant west-wind to unfold
The fresh leaves, with which Europe sees herself
New-garmented ; nor from those billows[3] far,
Beyond whose chiding, after weary course,
The sun doth sometimes[4] hide him ; safe abides
The happy Callaroga,[5] under guard
Of the great shield, wherein the lion lies
Subjected and supreme. And there was born
The loving minion of the Christian faith,[6]
The hallow'd wrestler, gentle[7] to his own,

[1] *As thou heard'st.*] See the last Canto, v. 33.

[2] *In that clime.*] Spain.

[3] *Those billows.*] The Atlantic.

[4] *Sometimes.*] During the summer solstice.

[5] *Callaroga.*] Between Logroño and Tudela, in Old Castile designated by the royal coat of arms.

[6] *The loving minion of the Christian faith.*] Dominic was born April 5, 1170, and died August 6, 1221. His birth-place Callaroga; his father and mother's names, Felix and Joanna; his mother's dream; his name of Dominic, given him in consequence of a vision by a noble matron who stood sponsor to him, are all told in an anonymous life of the saint, said to be written in the thirteenth century, and published by Quetif and Echard, Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum, Par. 1719, fol. tom. i. p. 25. These writers deny his having been an inquisitor, and indeed the establishment of the inquisition itself before the fourth Lateran Council. *Ibid.* p. 88.

[7] *Gentle.*] Βαρεῖαν ἐχθροῖς, καὶ φίλοισιν εὐμενῆ. *Eurip. Medea*, v. 805.

Lofty and sour to those, that loved him not,
But to those men, that sought him, sweet as summer.
Shakspeare, Henry VIII. act iv. sc. 2.

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And to his enemies terrible. So replete
His soul with lively virtue, that when first
Created, even in the mother's womb,[1]
It prophesied. When, at the sacred font,
The spousals were complete 'twixt faith and him,
Where pledge of mutual safety was exchanged,
The dame,[2] who was his surety, in her sleep
Beheld the wondrous fruit, that was from him
And from his heirs to issue. And that such
He might be construed, as indeed he was,
She was inspired to name him of his owner,
Whose he was wholly ; and so call'd him Dominic.
And I speak of him, as the labourer,
Whom Christ in his own garden chose to be
His help-mate. Messenger he seem'd, and friend
Fast-knit to Christ ; and the first love he show'd,
Was after the first counsel[3] that Christ gave.
Many a time[4] his nurse, at entering, found
That he had risen in silence, and was prostrate,
As who should say, 'My errand was for this'.
O happy father ! Felix[5] rightly named.
O favour'd mother ! rightly named Joanna ;
If that do mean, as men interpret it.[6]
Not for the world's sake, for which now they toil

[1] *In the mother's womb.*] His mother, when pregnant with him, is said to have dreamt that she should bring forth a white and black dog with a lighted torch in his mouth, which were signs of the habit to be worn by his order, and of his fervent zeal.

[2] *The dame.*] His godmother's dream was, that he had one star in his forehead and another in the nape of his neck, from which he communicated light to the east and the west.

[3] *After the first counsel.*] "Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." *Matth.* xix. 21. Dominic is said to have followed this advice.

[4] *Many a time.*] His nurse, when she returned to him, often found that he had left his bed, and was prostrate, and in prayer.

[5] *Felix.*] Felix Gusman.

[6] *As men interpret it.*] Grace or gift of the Lord.

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Upon Ostiense[1] and Taddeo's[2] lore,
But for the real manna, soon he grew
Mighty in learning; and did set himself
To go about the vineyard, that soon turns
To wan and wither'd, if not tended well:
And from the see[3] (whose bounty to the just
And needy is gone by, not through its fault,
But his who fills it basely) he besought,
No dispensation[4] for commuted wrong,
Nor the first vacant fortune,[5] nor the tenths
That to God's paupers rightly appertain,
But, 'gainst an erring and degenerate world,
Licence to fight, in favour of that seed[6]
From which the twice twelve cions gird thee round.
Then, with sage doctrine and good will to help,
Forth on his great apostleship he fared,
Like torrent bursting from a lofty vein;

[1] *Ostiense.*] Arrigo, a native of Susa, formerly a considerable city in Piedmont, and cardinal of Ostia and Velletri (1261), whence he acquired the name of Ostiense, was celebrated for his lectures on the five books of the Decretals. [He died in the year 1271.] He is classed by Frezzi with Accorso the Florentine.

Poi Ostiense, e 'l Fiorentino Accorso,
Che fè le chiose, e dichiarò 'l mio testo,
E alle leggi diede gran soccorso. *Il Quadrir.* lib. iv. cap. 13.

[2] *Taddeo.*] Taddeo d' Alderotto, a Florentine, called the Hippocratean, translated the ethics of Aristotle from Latin into Italian. He died at Bologna in 1303. He is also spoken of by Frezzi:

Azzo e Taddeo già funno li maggiori;
E ora ognun' è oscuro, e tal appare
Qual' è la luna alli febei splendori. *Il Quadrir.* lib. iv. cap. 13.

[3] *The see.*] "The apostolic see, which no longer continues its wonted liberality towards the indigent and deserving; not indeed through its own fault, as its doctrines are still the same, but through the fault of the pontiff, who is seated in it."

[4] *No dispensation.*] Dominic did not ask licence to compound for the use of unjust acquisitions by dedicating a part of them to pious purposes.

[5] *Nor the first vacant fortune.*] Not the first benefice that fell vacant.

[6] *In favour of that seed.*] "For that seed of the divine word, from which have sprung up these four and twenty plants, these holy spirits that now environ thee."

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And, dashing 'gainst the stocks of heresy,
Smote fiercest, where resistance was most stout.
Thence many rivulets have since been turn'd,
Over the garden catholic to lead
Their living waters, and have fed its plants.
"If such, one wheel [1] of that two-yoked car,
Wherein the holy church defended her,
And rode triumphant through the civil broil;
Thou canst not doubt its fellow's excellence,
Which Thomas,[2] ere my coming, hath declared
So courteously unto thee. But the track,[3]
Which its smooth fellies made, is now deserted:
That, mouldy mother is, where late were lees.
His family, that wont to trace his path,
Turn backward, and invert their steps; erelong
To rue the gathering in of their ill crop,
When the rejected tares [4] in vain shall ask
Admittance to the barn. I question not [5]
But he, who search'd our volume, leaf by leaf,
Might still find page with this inscription on't,
'I am as I was wont'. Yet such were not
From Acquasparta nor Casale, whence,
Of those who come to meddle with the text,
One stretches and another cramps its rule.
Bonaventura's life in me behold,
From Bagnoregio; one, who, in discharge

[1] *One wheel.*] Dominic; as the other wheel is Francis.
[2] *Thomas.*] Thomas Aquinas.
[3] *But the track.*] "But the rule of St. Francis is already deserted: and the lees of the wine are turned into mouldiness."
[4] *Tares.*] He adverts to the parable of the tares and the wheat.
[5] *I question not.*] "Some indeed might be found, who still observe the rule of the order: but such would come neither from Casale nor Acquasparta." At Casale, in Monferrat, the discipline had been enforced by Uberto with unnecessary rigour; and at Acquasparta, in the territory of Todi, it had been equally relaxed by the Cardinal Matteo, general of the order. Lucas Waddingus, as cited by Lombardi, corrects the errors of the commentators who had confounded these two.

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Of my great offices, still laid aside
All sinister aim. Illuminato here,
And Agostino [1] join me: two they were,
Among the first of those barefooted meek ones,
Who sought God's friendship in the cord: with them
Hugues of Saint Victor; [2] Pietro Mangiadore; [3]
And he of Spain [4] in his twelve volumes shining;
Nathan the prophet; Metropolitan
Chrysostom; [5] and Anselmo; [6] and, who deign'd

[1] —— *Illuminato here,*
And Agostino.] Two among the earliest followers of St. Francis.

[2] *Hugues of St. Victor.*] [A celebrated mystic and theologian; born near Ypres circ. 1097. He went in 1115 to the abbey of St. Victor near Paris, of which he later became one of the Canons-regular; in 1130 he was appointed to the chair of theology, which he held until his death in 1141. His numerous writings, which are replete with learning, include commentaries on various books of the Old and New Testament, and on the *De Caelesti Hierarchia* of Dionysius the Areopagite.] "A man distinguished by the fecundity of his genius, who treated, in his writings, of all the branches of sacred and profane erudition that were known in his time, and who composed several dissertations that are not destitute of merit." *Maclaine's Mosheim, Eccl. Hist.* v. iii. cent. xii. p. ii. c. ii. § 23. I have looked into his writings, and found some reason for this high eulogium.

[3] *Pietro Mangiadore.*] [Petrus Comestor, or the Eater, born at Troyes, was priest and dean of that church, and afterwards chancellor of the University of Paris. In 1164 he became a regular canon of St. Victor at Paris, where he died in 1179.] The work, by which he is best known, is his *Historia Scolastica*, which I shall have occasion to cite in the Notes to Canto xxvi.

[4] *He of Spain.*] "To Pope Adrian V. succeeded John XXI. a native of Lisbon; a man of great genius and extraordinary acquirements, especially in logic and in medicine, as his books written in the name of Peter of Spain (by which he was known before he became Pope) may testify. His life was not much longer than that of his predecessors, for he was killed at Viterbo, by the falling in of the roof of the chamber, after he had been pontiff only eight months and as many days," A.D. 1277. *Mariana, Hist. de Esp.* l. xiv. c. 2. His *Thesaurus Pauperum* is referred to in Brown's Vulgar Errors, B. vii. ch. 7.

[5] *Chrysostom.*] The eloquent patriarch of Constantinople.

[6] *Anselmo.*] "Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Aosta, about 1034, and studied under Lanfranc, at the monastery of Bec in Normandy, where he afterwards devoted himself to a religious life, in his twenty-seventh year. In three years he was made prior, and then abbot of that monastery; from whence he

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To put his hand to the first art, Donatus.[1]
Raban [2] is here ; and at my side there shines
Calabria's abbot, Joachim,[3] endow'd
With soul prophetic. The bright courtesy
Of friar Thomas and his goodly lore,
Have moved me to the blazon of a peer [4]
So worthy ; and with me have moved this throng."

was taken, in 1093, to succeed to the archbishopric, vacant by the death of Lanfranc. He enjoyed this dignity till his death, in 1109, though it was disturbed by many dissensions with William II. and Henry I. respecting immunities and investitures. There is much depth and precision in his theological works." *Tiraboschi, Stor. della Lett. Ital.* tom. iii. lib. iv. cap. 2. *Ibid.* c. v. "It is an observation made by many modern writers, that the demonstration of the existence of God, taken from the idea of a Supreme Being, of which Des Cartes is thought to be the author, was so many ages back discovered and brought to light by Anselm. Leibnitz himself makes the remark, vol. v. Oper. p. 570. Edit. Genev. 1768."

1 *Donatus.*] Ælius Donatus, the grammarian, in the fourth century, one of the preceptors of St. Jerome. So Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, lib. ii. cap. 13.

In questo tempo Donato vivea,
Che delle arti in si breve volume
L' uscio n' aperse e la prima scalea.

2 *Raban.*] "He was made Archbishop of Mentz in 847. His Latino-Theotische Glossary of the Bible is still preserved in the imperial library at Vienna. See Lambesius, Comment. de Bibl. lib. ii. p. 416 and 932." *Gray's Works*, 4to. Lond. 1814, vol. ii. p. 33. "Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, is deservedly placed at the head of the Latin writers of this age." *Mosheim*, v. ii. cent. ix. p. ii. c. ii. § 14.

3 *Joachim.*] Abbot of Flora in Calabria ; "whom the multitude revered as a person divinely inspired, and equal to the most illustrious prophets of ancient times." *Mosheim*, v. iii. cent. xiii. p. ii. c. ii. § 33.

4 *A peer.*] St Dominic.

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CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT

Thomas Aquinas resumes his speech. He solves the other of those doubts which he discerned in the mind of Dante, and warns him earnestly against assenting to any proposition without having duly examined it.

Let him,[1] who would conceive what now I saw,
Imagine (and retain the image firm
As mountain rock, the whilst he hears me speak),
Of stars, fifteen, from midst the ethereal host
Selected, that, with lively ray serene,
O'ercome the massiest air : thereto imagine
The wain, that, in the bosom of our sky,
Spins ever on its axle night and day,
With the bright summit of that horn, which swells
Due from the pole, round which the first wheel rolls,
To have ranged themselves in fashion of two signs
In heaven, such as Ariadne made,
When death's chill seized her ; and that one of them
Did compass in the other's beam ; and both
In such sort whirl around, that each should tend
With opposite motion : and, conceiving thus,
Of that true constellation, and the dance
Twofold, that circled me, he shall attain
As 'twere the shadow ; for things there as much

[1] *Let him.*] "Whoever would conceive the sight that now presented itself to me, must imagine to himself fifteen of the brightest stars in heaven, together with seven stars of Arcturus Major and two of Arcturus Minor, ranged in two circles, one within the other, each resembling the crown of Ariadne, and moving round in opposite directions."

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Surpass our usage, as the swiftest heaven
Is swifter than the Chiana.[1] There was sung
No Bacchus, and no Io Pæan, but
Three Persons in the Godhead, and in one
Person that nature and the human join'd.
The song and round were measured : and to us
Those saintly lights attended, happier made
At each new ministering. Then silence brake
Amid the accordant sons of Deity,
That luminary,[2] in which the wondrous life
Of the meek man of God[3] was told to me ;
And thus it spake : "One ear[4] o' the harvest thresh'd,
And its grain safely stored, sweet charity
Invites me with the other to like toil.
"Thou know'st, that in the bosom,[5] whence the rib
Was ta'en to fashion that fair cheek, whose taste
All the world pays for ; and in that, which pierced
By the keen lance, both after and before
Such satisfaction offer'd as outweighs
Each evil in the scale ; whate'er of light
To human nature is allow'd, must all
Have by his virtue been infused, who form'd
Both one and other : and thou thence admirest

[1] *The Chiana.*] See Hell, Canto xxix. 45.
[2] *That luminary.*] Thomas Aquinas.
[3] *The meek man of God.*] Saint Francis. See Canto xi. 25.
[4] *One ear.*] "Having solved one of thy questions, I proceed to answer the other. Thou thinkest then that Adam and Christ were both endued with all the perfection of which the human nature is capable; and therefore wonderest at what has been said concerning Solomon."
[5] *In the bosom.*] "Thou knowest that in the breast of Adam, whence the rib was taken to make that fair cheek of Eve, which, by tasting the apple, brought death into the world; and also in the breast of Christ, which, being pierced by the lance, made satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; as much wisdom resided, as human nature was capable of: and thou dost therefore wonder that I should have spoken of Solomon as the wisest." See Canto x. 105.

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In that I told thee, of beatitudes,
A second there is none to him enclosed
In the fifth radiance. Open now thine eyes
To what I answer thee ; and thou shalt see
Thy deeming and my saying meet in truth,
As centre in the round. That [1] which dies not,
And that which can die, are but each the beam
Of that idea, which our Sovereign Sire
Engendereth loving ; for that lively light,[2]
Which passeth from his splendour, not disjoin'd
From him, nor from his love triune with them,[3]
Doth, through his bounty, congregate itself,
Mirror'd, as 'twere, in new existences ; [4]
Itself unalterable, and ever one.
" Descending hence unto the lowest powers,[5]
Its energy so sinks, at last it makes
But brief contingencies ; for so I name
Things generated, which the heavenly orbs
Moving, with seed or without seed, produce.
Their wax, and that which molds it,[6] differ much :
And thence with lustre, more or less, it shows
The ideal stamp imprest : so that one tree,
According to his kind, hath better fruit,
And worse : and, at your birth, ye, mortal men,
Are in your talents various. Were the wax

1 *That.*] " Things, corruptible and incorruptible, are only emanations from the archetypal idea residing in the Divine Mind."
2 *Light.*] The Word : the Son of God.
3 *His love triune with them.*] The Holy Ghost.
4 *New existences.*] Angels and human souls. If we read with some editions and many MSS. " nove " instead of " nuove," it should be rendered " nine existences," and then means " the nine heavens " ; and this reading is approved by Lombardi, Biagioli, and Monti. In the terms " sussistenze " and " contingenze," " existences and contingencies," Dante follows the language of the scholastic writers, which I have endeavoured to preserve.
5 *The lowest powers.*] Irrational life and brute matter.
6 *Their wax, and that which molds it.*] Matter, and the virtue or energy that acts on it.

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Molded with nice exactness, and the heaven [1]
In its disposing influence supreme,
The brightness of the seal [2] should be complete :
But nature renders it imperfect ever ;
Resembling thus the artist, in her work,
Whose faltering hand is faithless to his skill.
Therefore,[3] if fervent love dispose, and mark
The lustrous image of the primal virtue,
There all perfection is vouchsafed ; and such
The clay [4] was made, accomplish'd with each gift,
That life can teem with ; such the burden fill'd
The virgin's bosom : so that I commend
Thy judgment, that the human nature ne'er
Was, or can be, such as in them it was.
"Did I advance no further than this point ;
'How then had he no peer ?' thou might'st reply.
But, that what now appears not, may appear
Right plainly, ponder, who he was, and what
(When he was bidden 'Ask') the motive, sway'd
To his requesting. I have spoken thus,
That thou mayst see, he was a king, who ask'd [5]
For wisdom, to the end he might be king
Sufficient : not, the number [6] to search out
Of the celestial movers ; or to know,

[1] *The heaven.*] The influence of the planetary bodies.
[2] *The brightness of the seal.*] The brightness of the Divine idea before spoken of.
[3] *Therefore.*] Daniello, says Lombardi, has shown his sagacity in remarking that our Poet intends this for a brief description of the Trinity: the primal virtue signifying the Father; the lustrous image, the Son; the fervent love, the Holy Ghost.
[4] *The clay.*] Adam.
[5] *Who ask'd.*] "He did not desire to know the number of the celestial intelligences, or to pry into the subtleties of logical, metaphysical, or mathematical science: but asked for that wisdom which might fit him for his kingly office."
[6] *The number.*] This question is discussed by our Poet himself in the Convito, ii. 6.

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If necessary[1] with contingent e'er
Have made necessity; or whether that
Be granted, that first motion[2] is; or if,
Of the mid circle,[3] can by art be made
Triangle, with its corner blunt or sharp.
"Whence, noting that, which I have said, and this,
Thou kingly prudence and that ken[4] mayst learn,
At which the dart of my intention aims.
And, marking clearly, that I told thee, 'Risen,'
Thou shalt discern it only hath respect
To kings, of whom are many, and the good
Are rare. With this distinction take my words;
And they may well consist with that which thou
Of the first human father dost believe,
And of our well-beloved. And let this
Henceforth be lead unto thy feet, to make
Thee slow in motion, as a weary man,
Both to the 'yea' and to the 'nay' thou seest not.
For he among the fools is down full low,
Whose affirmation, or denial,[5] is
Without distinction, in each case alike.

[1] *If necessary.*] "If a premise necessarily true, with one not necessarily true, ever produced a necessary consequence: a question resolved in the negative by the art of Logic, with that general rule, conclusio sequitur debiliorem partem." *Lombardi.*

[2] *That first motion.*] "If we must allow one first motion, which is not caused by other motion: a question resolved affirmatively by metaphysics, according to that principle, repugnat in causis processus in infinitum." *Lombardi.*

[3] *Of the mid circle.*] "If in the half of the circle a rectilinear triangle can be described, one side of which shall be the diameter of the same circle, without its forming a right angle with the other two sides; which geometry shows to be impossible." *Lombardi.*

[4] *That ken.*] See Canto x. 110.

[5] *Whose affirmation, or denial.*] Τῶν γὰρ ἄρτι δεινότερα ἄν τις ὁμολογήσειε, μὴ προσχὼν τοῖς ῥήμασι τὸν νοῦν, ἢ τοπολὺ εἰθίσμεθα φάναι τε καὶ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι. Plato, Theætetus, Ed. Bip. v. ii. p. 97.
For any one might make yet absurder concessions than these, not paying strict attention to terms, according to the way, in which we are for the most part accustomed both to affirm and to deny."

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Since it befals, that in most instances
Current opinion leans to false: and then
Affection bends the judgment to her ply.
"Much more than vainly doth he loose from shore,
Since he returns not such as he set forth,
Who fishes for the truth and wanteth skill.
And open proofs of this unto the world
Have been afforded in Parmenides,
Melissus, Bryso,[1] and the crowd beside,
Who journey'd on, and knew not whither: so did
Sabellius, Arius,[2] and the other fools,
Who, like to scymitars,[3] reflected back
The scripture-image by distortion marr'd.
"Let not the people be too swift to judge;
As one who reckons on the blades in field,
Or e'er the crop be ripe. For I have seen
The thorn frown rudely all the winter long,
And after bear the rose upon its top;
And bark, that all her way across the sea
Ran straight and speedy, perish at the last
E'en in the haven's mouth. Seeing one steal,
Another bring his offering to the priest,

1 —— *Parmenides, Melissus, Bryso.*] For the singular opinions entertained by the two former of these heathen philosophers, see Diogenes Laertius, lib. ix. and Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. iii. cap. i. and Phys. lib. i. cap. ii. The last is also twice adduced by Aristotle (Anal. Post. lib. i. cap. ix. and Rhet. lib. iii. cap. ii.) as affording instances of false reasoning. Our Poet refers to the philosopher's refutation of them in the De Monarchiâ, lib. iii. cap. 4. See also Plato in the Theætetus, the Sophist, and the Parmenides.

2 *Sabellius, Arius.*] Well-known heretics.

3 *Scymitars.*] A passage in the travels of Bertradon de la Brocquière, translated by Mr. Johnes, will explain this allusion, which has given some trouble to the commentators. That traveller, who wrote before Dante, informs us, p. 138, that the wandering Arabs used their scymitars as mirrors.

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Let not [1] Dame Birtha and Sir Martin [2] thence
Into heaven's counsels deem that they can pry :
For one of these may rise, the other fall."

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT

Solomon, who is one of the spirits in the inner circle, declares what the appearance of the blest will be after the resurrection of the body. Beatrice and Dante are translated into the fifth heaven, which is that of Mars; and here behold the souls of those, who had died fighting for the true faith, ranged in the sign of a cross, athwart which the spirits move to the sound of a melodious hymn.

From centre to the circle, and so back
From circle to the centre, water moves
In the round chalice, even as the blow
Impels it, inwardly, or from without.
Such was the image [3] glanced into my mind,
As the great spirit of Aquinum ceased ;
And Beatrice, after him, her words
Resumed alternate : "Need there is (though yet
He tells it to you not in words, nor e'en
In thought) that he should fathom to its depth
Another mystery. Tell him, if the light,

[1] *Let not.*] "Let not short-sighted mortals presume to decide on the future doom of any man, from a consideration of his present character and actions." This is meant as an answer to the doubts entertained respecting the salvation of Solomon. See Canto x. 107.

[2] *Dame Birtha and Sir Martin.*] Names put generally for any persons who have more curiosity than discretion.

[3] *Such was the image.*] The voice of Thomas Aquinas proceeding from the circle to the centre; and that of Beatrice, from the centre to the circle.

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Wherewith your substance blooms, shall stay with you
Eternally, as now ; and, if it doth,
How, when [1] ye shall regain your visible forms,
The sight may without harm endure the change,
That also tell." As those, who in a ring
Tread the light measure, in their fitful mirth
Raise loud the voice, and spring with gladder bound ;
Thus, at the hearing of that pious suit,
The saintly circles, in their tourneying
And wondrous note, attested new delight.
Whoso laments, that we must doff this garb
Of frail mortality, thenceforth to live
Immortally above ; he hath not seen
The sweet refreshing of that heavenly shower.[2]
Him,[3] who lives ever, and for ever reigns
In mystic union of the Three in One,
Unbounded, bounding all, each spirit thrice
Sang, with such melody, as, but to hear,
For highest merit were an ample meed.
And from the lesser orb the goodliest light,[4]
With gentle voice and mild, such as perhaps
The angel's once to Mary, thus replied :
" Long as the joy of Paradise shall last,
Our love shall shine around that raiment, bright
As fervent ; fervent as, in vision, blest ;
And that as far, in blessedness, exceeding,

[1] *When.*] When ye shall be again clothed with your bodies at the resurrection.

[2] *That heavenly shower.*] That effusion of beatific light.

[3] *Him.*] Literally translated by Chaucer, Troilus and Cresseide, book v.

Thou one, two, and three eterne on live,
That raignest aie in three, two, and one,
Uncircumscript, and all maist circonscrive.

[4] *The goodliest light.*] Solomon.

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As it hath grace, beyond its virtue, great.
Our shape, regarmented with glorious weeds
Of saintly flesh, must, being thus entire,
Show yet more gracious. Therefore shall increase
Whate'er, of light, gratuitous imparts
The Supreme Good; light, ministering aid,
The better to disclose his glory: whence,
The vision needs increasing, must increase
The fervour, which it kindles; and that too
The ray, that comes from it. But as the gleed
Which gives out flame, yet in its whiteness shines
More livelily than that, and so preserves
Its proper semblance; thus this circling sphere
Of splendour shall to view less radiant seem,
Then shall our fleshly robe, which yonder earth
Now covers. Nor will such excess of light
O'erpower us, in corporeal organs made
Firm, and susceptible of all delight."
So ready and so cordial an "Amen"
Follow'd from either choir, as plainly spoke
Desire of their dead bodies; yet perchance
Not for themselves, but for their kindred dear,
Mothers and sires, and those whom best they loved,
Ere they were made imperishable flame.
And lo! forthwith there rose up round about
A lustre, over that already there;
Of equal clearness, like the brightening up
Of the horizon. As at evening hour
Of twilight, new appearances through heaven
Peer with faint glimmer, doubtfully descried;
So, there, new substances, methought, began
To rise in view beyond the other twain,
And wheeling, sweep their ampler circuit wide.
O genuine glitter of eternal Beam!
With what a sudden whiteness did it flow,

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O'erpowering vision in me. But so fair,
So passing lovely, Beatrice show'd,
Mind cannot follow it, nor words express
Her infinite sweetness. Thence mine eyes regain'd
Power to look up; and I beheld myself,
Sole with my lady, to more lofty bliss[1]
Translated: for the star, with warmer smile
Impurpled, well denoted our ascent.
With all the heart, and with that tongue which speaks
The same in all, an holocaust I made
To God, befitting the new grace vouchsafed.
And from my bosom had not yet upsteam'd
The fuming of that incense, when I knew
The rite accepted. With such mighty sheen
And mantling crimson, in two listed rays
The splendours shot before me, that I cried,
"God of Sabaoth! that dost prank them thus!"
As leads the galaxy from pole to pole,
Distinguish'd into greater lights and less,
Its pathway,[2] which the wisest fail to spell;
So thickly studded, in the depth of Mars,

1 *To more lofty bliss.*] To the planet Mars.

2 *Its pathway.*] See the Convito, ii. 15. "E da sapere, etc." "It must be known, that, concerning the galaxy, philosophers have entertained different opinions. The Pythagoreans say that the sun once wandered out of his way; and passing through other parts not suited to his heat, scorched the place through which he passed; and that there was left that appearance of the scorching. I think they grounded their opinion on the fable of Phaëton, which Ovid relates at the beginning of his Metamorphoses. Others (as Anaxagoras and Democritus) said that it proceeded from a partial repercussion of the solar light, which they proved by such reasons as they could bring to demonstrate it. What Aristotle has said, cannot well be known; because his meaning is not made the same in one translation as in another: and I think it must have been an error in the translators; for, in the new, he seems to say that it is a collection of vapours under the stars, which they always attract in that part; and this appears devoid of any true reason. In the old, he says that the galaxy is nothing else than a multitude of fixed stars in that part, so small, that here

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Those rays described the venerable sign,[1]
That quadrants in the round conjoining frame.
Here memory mocks the toil of genius. Christ
Beam'd on that cross ; and pattern fails me now.
But whoso takes his cross, and follows Christ,
Will pardon me for that I leave untold,
When in the flecker'd dawning he shall spy
The glitterance of Christ. From horn to horn,
And 'tween the summit and the base, did move
Lights, scintillating, as they met and pass'd.
Thus oft are seen with ever-changeful glance,
Straight or athwart, now rapid and now slow,
The atomies of bodies,[2] long or short,
To move along the sunbeam, whose slant line
Checkers the shadow interposed by art
Against the noontide heat. And as the chime
Of minstrel music, dulcimer, and harp
With many strings, a pleasant dinning makes
To him, who heareth not distinct the note ;
So from the lights, which there appear'd to me,
Gather'd along the cross a melody,
That, indistinctly heard, with ravishment
Possess'd me. Yet I mark'd it was a hymn
Of lofty praises ; for there came to me
" Arise," and " Conquer," as to one who hears

below we cannot distinguish them ; but that they form the appearance of that whiteness, which we call the galaxy. And it may be, that the heaven in that part is dense, and therefore retains and represents that light ; and in this opinion Avicen and Ptolemy seem to agree with Aristotle." M. Letronne's remarks on this passage of the Convito, inserted in M. Artaud's Histoire de Dante (8°. Par. 1841, p. 157), are worth consulting.

[1] *The venerable sign.*] The cross, which is placed in the planet of Mars, to denote the glory of those who fought in the crusades.

[2] *The atomies of bodies.*]

As thick as motes in the sun-beame.
Chaucer, Edit. 1603, fol. 35.

As thick and numberless,
As the gay motes that people the sunbeam.
Milton, Il Penseroso

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And comprehends not. Me such ecstasy
O'ercame, that never, till that hour, was thing
That held me in so sweet imprisonment.
Perhaps my saying overbold appears,
Accounting less the pleasure of those eyes,
Whereon to look fulfilleth all desire.
But he,[1] who is aware those living seals
Of every beauty work with quicker force,
The higher they are risen ; and that there
I had not turn'd me to them ; he may well
Excuse me that, whereof in my excuse
I do accuse me, and may own my truth ;
That holy pleasure here not yet reveal'd,[2]
Which grows in transport as we mount aloof.

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT

The spirit of Cacciaguida, our Poet's ancestor, glides rapidly to the foot of the cross; tells who he is; and speaks of the simplicity of the Florentines in his days, since then much corrupted.

True love, that ever shows itself as clear
In kindness, as loose appetite in wrong,

[1] *He.*] "He, who considers that the eyes of Beatrice became more radiant the higher we ascended, must not wonder that I do not except even them, as I had not yet beheld them since our entrance into this planet." Lombardi understands, by "living seals," "vivi suggelli," "the stars"; and this explanation derives some authority from the Latin notes on the Monte Casino MS. "id est cœli imprimentes ut sigilla".

[2] *Reveal'd.*] Dischiuso. Lombardi explains this word "excluded," as indeed Vellutello had done before him; and as it is also used in the seventh Canto. If this interpretation were adopted, the line should stand thus :—

That holy pleasure not excluded here.

But the word is capable of either meaning; and it would not be easy to determine which is the right, in this passage.

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Silenced that lyre harmonious, and still'd
The sacred chords, that are by heaven's right hand
Unwound and tighten'd. How to righteous prayers
Should they not hearken, who, to give me will
For praying, in accordance thus were mute ?
He hath in sooth good cause for endless grief,
Who, for the love of thing that lasteth not,
Despoils himself for ever of that love.

As oft along the still and pure serene,
At nightfal, glides a sudden trail of fire,
Attracting with involuntary heed
The eye to follow it, erewhile at rest ;
And seems some star that shifted place in heaven,[1]
Only that, whence it kindles, none is lost,
And it is soon extinct : thus from the horn,
That on the dexter of the cross extends,
Down to its foot, one luminary ran
From mid the cluster shone there ; yet no gem
Dropp'd from its foil : and through the beamy list,
Like flame in alabaster, glow'd its course.

So forward stretch'd him (if of credence aught
Our greater muse[2] may claim) the pious ghost
Of old Anchises, in the Elysian bower,
When he perceived his son. "O thou, my blood !
O most exceeding grace divine ! to whom,

[1] *And seems some star that shifted place in heaven.*]

Pare una stella che tramuti loco.
Frezzi, Il Quadrir. lib. i. cap. 13.

Sæpe etiam stellas, vento impendente, videbis,
Præcipites cœlo labi, noctisque per umbram
Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus. *Virg. Georg.* lib. i. 367. Compare Arat. Διοσημ. 194.

[2] *Our greater muse.*] Virgil, Æn. lib. vi. 684.

Isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
Æneam, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit.
Venisti tandem, tuaque spectata parenti
Vicit iter durum pietas ?

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As now to thee, hath twice the heavenly gate
Been e'er unclosed?" So spake the light: whence I
Turn'd me toward him; then unto my dame
My sight directed: and on either side
Amazement waited me; for in her eyes
Was lighted such a smile, I thought that mine
Had dived unto the bottom of my grace
And of my bliss in Paradise. Forthwith,
To hearing and to sight grateful alike,
The spirit to his proem added things
I understood not, so profound he spake:
Yet not of choice, but through necessity,
Mysterious; for his high conception soar'd
Beyond the mark of mortals. When the flight
Of holy transport had so spent its rage,
That nearer to the level of our thought
The speech descended; the first sounds I heard
Were, "Blest be thou, Triunal Deity!
That hast such favour in my seed vouchsafed".
Then follow'd: "No unpleasant thirst, though long,[1]
Which took me reading in the sacred book,
Whose leaves or white or dusky never change,
Thou hast allay'd, my son! within this light,
From whence my voice thou hear'st: more thanks to her
Who, for such lofty mounting, has with plumes
Begirt thee. Thou dost deem thy thoughts to me
From Him transmitted, who is first of all,
E'en as all numbers ray from unity;[2]
And therefore dost not ask me who I am,

[1] *No unpleasant thirst, though long.*] "Thou hast satisfied the long yet pleasing desire which I have felt to see thee, through my knowledge of thee, obtained in the immutable decrees of the divine Providence"

[2] *Unity.*] Πάντων ἄρα τὸ ἓν πρῶτον γέγονε τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐχόντων. Plato, Parmenides, Ed. Bip. vol. x. p. 130. Perhaps the mention of Parmenides in the last Canto but one, suggested this thought to

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Or why to thee more joyous I appear,
Than any other in this gladsome throng.
The truth is as thou deem'st ; for in this life
Both less and greater in that mirror look,
In which thy thoughts, or e'er thou think'st, are shown.
But, that the love, which keeps me wakeful ever,
Urging with sacred thirst of sweet desire,
May be contented fully ; let thy voice,
Fearless, and frank, and jocund, utter forth
Thy will distinctly, utter forth the wish,
Whereto my ready answer stands decreed."
I turn'd me to Beatrice ; and she heard
Ere I had spoken, smiling an assent,
That to my will gave wings ; and I began :
"To each among your tribe,[1] what time ye kenn'd
The nature, in whom nought unequal dwells,
Wisdom and love were in one measure dealt ;
For that they are so equal in the sun,
From whence ye drew your radiance and your heat,
As makes all likeness scant. But will and means,
In mortals, for the cause ye well discern,
With unlike wings are fledge. A mortal, I
Experience inequality like this ;
And therefore give no thanks, but in the heart,
For thy paternal greeting. This howe'er
I pray thee, living topaz ! that ingemm'st
This precious jewel ; let me hear thy name."

Dante, which he has expressed by specifying two particular numbers intended to stand for all. There is something similar to it in his treatise De Vulgari Eloquio, lib. i. c. xvi. "Sicut in numero cuncta mensurantur uno, et plura vel pauciora dicuntur, secundum quod distant ab uno, vel ei propinquant."

[1] *To each among your tribe.*] "In you, glorified spirits, love and knowledge are made equal, because they are equal in God. But with us mortals it is otherwise, for we have often the will without the means of expressing our affections; and I can therefore thank thee only in my heart."

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"I am thy root,[1] O leaf! whom to expect
Even, hath pleased me." Thus the prompt reply
Prefacing, next it added: "He, of whom[2]
Thy kindred appellation comes, and who,
These hundred years and more, on its first ledge
Hath circuited the mountain, was my son,
And thy great-grandsire. Well befits, his long
Endurance should be shorten'd by thy deeds.
"Florence,[3] within her ancient limit-mark,
Which calls her still[4] to matin prayers and noon,
Was chaste and sober, and abode in peace.
She had no armlets and no head-tires then;
No purfled dames; no zone, that caught the eye
More than the person did. Time was not yet,
When[5] at his daughter's birth the sire grew pale,
For fear the age and dowry should exceed,
On each side, just proportion. House was none
Void[6] of its family: nor yet had come
Sardanapalus,[7] to exhibit feats

[1] *I am thy root.*] Cacciaguida, father to Alighieri of whom our Poet was the great-grandson.

[2] *He, of whom.*] "Thy great grandfather, Alighieri, has been in the first round of Purgatory more than a hundred years; and it is fit that thou by thy good deserts shouldst endeavour to shorten the time of his remaining there." For what is known of Alighieri see Pelli, Memor. Opere di Dante. Ediz. Zatta, 1758, tom. iv. P. 2da p. 21. His son Bellincione was living in 1266; and of him was born the father of our Poet, whom Benvenuto da Imola calls a lawyer by profession. *Pelli, ibid.*

[3] *Florence.*] See G. Villani, lib. iii. cap. ii.

[4] *Which calls her still.*] The public clock being still within the circuit of the ancient walls.

[5] *When.*] When the women were not married at too early an age, and did not expect too large a portion.

[6] *Void.*] Through the civil wars and banishments. Or he may mean that houses were not formerly built merely for pomp and show, nor of greater size than was necessary for containing the families that inhabited them. For it has been understood in both these ways.

[7] *Sardanapalus.*] The luxurious monarch of Assyria. Juvenal is here imitated, who uses his name for an instance of effeminacy. Sat. x. 362.

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Of chamber prowess. Montemalo[1] yet
O'er our suburban turret[2] rose; as much
To be surpast in fall, as in its rising.
I saw Bellincion Berti[3] walk abroad
In leathern girdle, and a clasp of bone;
And, with no artful colouring on her cheeks,
His lady leave the glass. The sons I saw
Of Nerli, and of Vecchio,[4] well content
With unrobed jerkin; and their good dames handling
The spindle and the flax: O happy they!
Each[5] sure of burial in her native land,
And none left desolate a-bed for France.
One waked to tend the cradle, hushing it

[1] *Montemalo.*] Monte Mario, the site of the villa Mellini, commanding a view of Rome.

[2] *Our suburban turret.*] Uccellatojo, near Florence, from whence that city was discovered. Florence had not yet vied with Rome in the grandeur of her public buildings.

[3] *Bellincion Berti.*] Hell, Canto xvi. 38, and notes. There is a curious description of the simple manner in which the earlier Florentines dressed themselves, in G. Villani, lib. vi. c. lxxi. "And observe that in the time of the said people (A.D. 1259), and before and for a long time after, the citizens of Florence lived soberly, on coarse viands, and at little cost, and in many customs and courtesies of life were rude and unpolished; and dressed themselves and their women in coarse cloths: many wore plain leather, without cloth over it; bonnets on their heads; and all, boots on the feet: and the Florentine women were without ornament; the better sort content with a close gown of scarlet cloth of Ypres or of camlet, bound with a girdle in the ancient mode, and a mantle lined with fur, and a hood to it, which was worn on the head; the common sort of women were clad in a coarse gown of Cambrai in like manner. One hundred pounds (libbre) was the common portion for a wife; and two or three hundred was accounted a magnificent one; and the young women were for the most part twenty years old or more before they were given in marriage. Such was the dress; and thus coarse were the manners of the Florentines: but they were of good faith and loyal both among themselves and to the state; and with their coarse way of living and poverty did greater and more virtuous deeds than have been done in our times with greater refinement and wealth."

[4] *Of Nerli, and of Vecchio.*] Two of the most opulent families in Florence.

[5] *Each.*] "None fearful either of dying in banishment, or of being deserted by her husband on a scheme of traffic in France."

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With sounds that lull'd the parent's infancy :
Another, with her maidens, drawing off
The tresses from the distaff, lectured them
Old tales of Troy, and Fesole, and Rome.
A Salterello and Cianghella [1] we
Had held as strange a marvel, as ye would
A Cincinnatus or Cornelia now.
"In such composed and seemly fellowship,
Such faithful and such fair equality,
In so sweet household, Mary [2] at my birth
Bestow'd me, call'd on with loud cries ; and there,
In your old baptistery, I was made
Christian at once and Cacciaguida ; as were
My brethren Eliseo and Moronto.
"From Valdipado [3] came to me my spouse ;
And hence thy surname grew. I follow'd then
The Emperor Conrad : [4] and his knighthood he
Did gird on me ; in such good part he took
My valiant service. After him I went
To testify against that evil law,
Whose people,[5] by the shepherd's fault, possess
Your right usurp'd. There I by that foul crew
Was disentangled from the treacherous world
Whose base affection many a spirit soils ;
And from the martyrdom came to this peace."

[1] *A Salterello and Cianghella.*] The latter a shameless woman of the family of Tosa, married to Lito degli Alidosi of Imola : the former Lapo Salterello, a lawyer, with whom Dante was at variance. "We should have held an abandoned character, like these, as great a wonder, as ye would the contrary now."

[2] *Mary.*] The Virgin was invoked in the pains of child-birth. Purgatory, Canto xx. 21.

[3] *Valdipado.*] Cacciaguida's wife, whose family name was Alighieri, came from Ferrara, called Val di Pado, from its being watered by the Po.

[4] *Conrad.*] The Emperor Conrad III. who died in 1152. See G. Villani, lib. iv. xxxiv.

[5] *Whose people.*] The Mahometans, who were left in possession of the Holy Land, through the supineness of the Pope. See Canto ix. 123.

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CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT

Cacciaguida relates the time of his birth; and, describing the extent of Florence when he lived there, recounts the names of the chief families who then inhabited it. Its degeneracy, and subsequent disgrace, he attributes to the introduction of families from the neighbouring country and villages, and to their mixture with the primitive citizens.

O SLIGHT respect of man's nobility!
I never shall account it marvelous,
That our infirm affection here below
Thou movest to boasting; when I could not chuse,
E'en in that region of unwarp'd desire,
In heaven itself, but make my vaunt in thee.
Yet cloak thou art soon shorten'd; for that Time,
Unless thou be eked out from day to day,
Goes round thee with his shears. Resuming then,
With greeting[1] such as Rome was first to bear,
But since hath disaccustom'd, I began:
And Beatrice,[2] that a little space
Was sever'd, smiled; reminding me of her,
Whose cough embolden'd (as the story holds)
To first offence the doubting Guenever.[3]

[1] *With greeting.*] The Poet, who had addressed the spirit, not knowing him to be his ancestor, with a plain "Thou," now uses more ceremony, and calls him "You," according to a custom introduced among the Romans in the latter times of the empire.

[2] *Beatrice.*] Lombardi observes, that in order to show us that his conversation with Cacciaguida had no connection with sacred subjects, Beatrice is described as standing at a little distance; and her smiling at his formal address to his ancestor, makes him fall into a greater freedom of manner. See the next Canto, v. 15.

[3] *Guenever.*] [Beatrice's smile reminded him of the Lady of Mallehault, who coughed at a critical moment during the first interview between Guenever and Lancelot. The incident is omitted from the printed versions of the Lancelot romance, but is given in full in the MSS.] See Hell, Canto v. 124.

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"You are my sire," said I: "you give me heart
Freely to speak my thought: above myself
You raise me. Through so many streams with joy
My soul is fill'd, that gladness wells from it;
So that it bears the mighty tide, and bursts not.
Say then, my honour'd stem! what ancestors
Were those you sprang from, and what years were mark'd
In your first childhood? Tell me of the fold,[1]
That hath Saint John for guardian, what was then
Its state, and who in it were highest seated!"
As embers, at the breathing of the wind,
Their flame enliven; so that light I saw
Shine at my blandishments; and, as it grew
More fair to look on, so with voice more sweet,
Yet not in this our modern phrase, forthwith
It answer'd: "From the day,[2] when it was said

1 *The fold.*] Florence, of which John the Baptist was the patron saint.

2 *From the day.*] From the incarnation of our Lord to the birth of Cacciaguida, the planet Mars had returned five hundred and eighty times to the constellation of Leo, with which it is supposed to have a congenial influence. As Mars then completes his revolution in a period forty-three days short of two years, Cacciaguida was born about 1090. This is Lombardi's computation, and it squares well both with the old reading—

——— cinquecento cinquanta
E trenta fiate;

and with the time when Cacciaguida might have fallen fighting under Conrad III. who died in 1152. Not so the computation made by the old commentators in general, who reckoning two years for the revolution of Mars, placed the birth of Cacciaguida in 1160; the impossibility of which being perceived by the Academicians della Crusca (as it had before been by Pietro, the son of our Poet, or by the author of the commentary which passes for his), they altered the word "trenta" into "tre," "thirty" into "three"; and so, still reckoning the revolution of Mars at two years, brought Cacciaguida's birth to 1106. The way in which Lombardi has got over the difficulty appears preferable, as it retains the old reading; and I have accordingly altered the translation, which before stood thus:—

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'Hail Virgin!' to the throes by which my mother,
Who now is sainted, lighten'd her of me
Whom she was heavy with, this fire had come
Five hundred times and fourscore, to relume
Its radiance underneath the burning foot
Of its own lion. They, of whom I sprang,
And I, had there our birth-place, where the last [1]
Partition of our city first is reach'd
By him that runs her annual game. Thus much
Suffice of my forefathers: who they were,
And whence they hither came, more honourable
It is to pass in silence than to tell.
All those, who at that time were there, betwixt
Mars [2] and the Baptist, fit to carry arms,
Were but the fifth, of them this day alive.
But then the citizen's blood, that now is mix'd
From Campi and Certaldo and Fighine,[3]
Ran purely through the last mechanic's veins.

——— this fire had come,
Five hundred fifty times and thrice, its beams
To re-illumine underneath the foot
Of its own lion.

Sincè this note was written, Monti has given his assent to Lombardi's opinion. See his Proposta under the word "Rinfiammare," t. iii. pte. ii. 210.

[1] *The last.*] The city was divided into four compartments. The Elisei, the ancestors of Dante, resided near the entrance of that, named from the Porta S. Piero, which was the last reached by the competitor in the annual race at Florence. See G. Villani, lib. iv. cap. x.

[2] *Mars.*] The Padre d'Aquino understands this to refer to the population of Florence in Cacciaguida's time; for, according to him, "tra Marte e 'l Batista," means the space between the statue of Mars placed on the Ponte Vecchio and the Baptistery; and Lombardi assents to this interpretation. Venturi supposes, that the portion of land so described would have been insufficient to hold the population which Florence contained at the supposed date of this poem, that is, in the year 1300; and agrees with the elder commentators, who consider the description as relating to time and not to place, and as indicating the two periods of heathenism and Christianity. See Canto xiii. 144. It would not be easy to determine the real sense of a passage thus equivocal.

[3] *Campi and Certaldo and Fighine.*] Country places near Florence.

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O how much better were it, that these people[1]
Were neighbours to you; and that at Galluzzo
And at Trespiano ye should have your boundary;
Than to have them within, and bear the stench
Of Aguglione's hind, and Signa's,[2] him,
That hath his eye already keen for bartering.[3]
Had not the people,[4] which of all the world
Degenerates most, been stepdame unto Cæsar;
But, as a mother to her son been kind,
Such one, as hath become a Florentine,
And trades and traffics, had been turn'd adrift
To Simifonte,[5] where his grandsire plied
The beggar's craft: the Conti were possest
Of Montemurlo[6] still: the Cerchi still
Were in Acone's parish: nor had haply
From Valdigrieve past the Buondelmonti.
The city's malady hath ever source
In the confusion of its persons, as
The body's, in variety of food:
And the blind bull[7] falls with a steeper plunge,

[1] *That these people.*] "That the inhabitants of the above-mentioned places had not been mixed with the citizens; nor the limits of Florence extended beyond Galluzzo and Trespiano."

[2] *Aguglione's hind, and Signa's.*] Baldo of Aguglione, and Bonifazio of Signa.

[3] *His eye already keen for bartering.*] See Hell, Canto xxi. 40, and note.

[4] *Had not the people.*] If Rome had continued in her allegiance to the emperor, and the Guelph and Ghibelline factions had thus been prevented; Florence would not have been polluted by a race of upstarts, nor lost the most respectable of her ancient families.

[5] *Simifonte.*] A castle dismantled by the Florentines. G. Villani, lib. v. cap xxx. The person here alluded to is no longer known.

[6] *Montemurlo.*] G. Villani, lib. v. cap. xxxi., relates that the Conti Guidi, not being able to defend their castle from the Pistoians, sold it to the state of Florence.

[7] *The blind bull.*] So Chaucer, Troilus and Cresseide, b. ii.

> For swifter course cometh thing that is of wight
> When it descendeth than done things light.

Compare Aristotle, Ethic. Nic. lib. vi. cap. xiii. "σώματι ἰσχυρῷ, κ.τ.λ."

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Than the blind lamb: and oftentimes one sword
Doth more and better execution,
Than five. Mark Luni; Urbisaglia[1] mark;
How they are gone; and after them how go
Chiusi and Sinigaglia:[2] and 'twill seem
No longer new, or strange to thee, to hear
That families fail, when cities have their end.
All things that appertain to ye, like yourselves,
Are mortal: but mortality in some
Ye mark not; they endure so long, and you
Pass by so suddenly. And as the moon[3]
Doth, by the rolling of her heavenly sphere,
Hide and reveal the strand unceasingly;
So fortune deals with Florence. Hence admire not
At what of them I tell thee, whose renown
Time covers, the first Florentines. I saw
The Ughi,[4] Catilini, and Filippi,
The Alberichi, Greci, and Ormanni,
Now in their wane, illustrious citizens;
And great as ancient, of Sannella him,
With him of Arca saw, and Soldanieri,
And Ardinghi, and Bostichi. At the poop[5]
That now is laden with new felony
So cumbrous it may speedily sink the bark,

[1] *Luni; Urbisaglia.*] Cities formerly of importance, but then fallen to decay.

[2] *Chiusi and Sinigaglia.*] The same.

[3] *As the moon.*] "The fortune of us, that are the moon's men, doth ebb and flow like the sea." *Shakspeare*, 1 *Henry IV.* act i. sc. 2.

[4] *The Ughi.*] Whoever is curious to know the habitations of these and the other ancient Florentines, may consult G. Villani, lib. iv.

[5] *At the poop.*] The Cerchi, Dante's enemies, had succeeded to the houses over the gate of Saint Peter, formerly inhabited by the Ravignani and the Count Guido. G. Villani, lib. iv. cap. x. Many editions read *porta*, "gate".—The same metaphor is found in Æschylus, Supp. 356, and is there also scarce understood by the critics.

Αἰδοῦ σὺ πρύμναν πόλεος ὃδ' ἐστεμμένην.
Respect these wreaths, that crown your city's poop.

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The Ravignani sat, of whom is sprung
The County Guido, and whoso hath since
His title from the famed Bellincion ta'en.
Fair governance was yet an art well prized
By him of Pressa : Galigaio show'd
The gilded hilt and pommel,[1] in his house :
The column, clothed with verrey,[2] still was seen
Unshaken ; the Sacchetti still were great,
Giouchi, Sifanti, Galli, and Barucci,
With them [3] who blush to hear the bushel named.
Of the Calfucci still the branchy trunk
Was in its strength : and, to the curule chairs,
Sizii and Arrigucci [4] yet were drawn.
How mighty them [5] I saw, whom, since, their pride
Hath undone ! And in all their goodly deeds
Florence was, by the bullets of bright gold,[6]
O'erflourish'd. Such the sires of those,[7] who now,
As surely as your church is vacant, flock
Into her consistory, and at leisure
There stall them and grow fat. The o'erweening
brood,[8]

[1] *The gilded hilt and pommel.*] The symbols of knighthood.

[2] *The column, clothed with verrey.*] The arms of the Pigli, or, as some write it, the Billi.

[3] *With them.*] The Chiaramontesi, one of whom had committed a fraud in measuring out the salt from the public store. See Purgatory, Canto xii. 99.

[4] *Sizii and Arrigucci.*] "These families still obtained the magistracies."

[5] *Them.*] The Uberti; according to the Latin note on the Monte Casino MS., with which the editor of the extracts from those notes says that Benvenuto agrees.

[6] *The bullets of bright gold.*] The arms of the Abbati, as it is conjectured; or of the Lamberti, according to the authorities referred to in the last note.

[7] *The sires of those.*] "Of the Visdomini, the Tosinghi, and the Cortigiani, who, being sprung from the founders of the bishopric of Florence, are the curators of its revenues, which they do not spare, whenever it becomes vacant."

[8] *The o'erweening brood.*] The Adimari. This family was so little esteemed, that Ubertino Donato, who had married a daughter of Bellincion Berti, himself indeed derived from the same stock

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That plays the dragon after him that flees,
But unto such as turn and show the tooth,
Ay or the purse, is gentle as a lamb,
Was on its rise, but yet so slight esteem'd,
That Ubertino of Donati grudged
His father-in-law should yoke him to its tribe.
Already Caponsacco [1] had descended
Into the mart from Fesole : and Giuda
And Infangato [2] were good citizens.
A thing incredible I tell, though true : [3]
The gateway,[4] named from those of Pera, led
Into the narrow circuit of your walls.
Each one, who bears the sightly quarterings
Of the great Baron [5] (he whose name and worth
The festival of Thomas still revives),
His knighthood and his privilege retain'd ;

(see note to Hell, Canto xvi. 38), was offended with his father-in-law, for giving another of his daughters in marriage to one of them.

[1] *Caponsacco.*] The family of Caponsacchi, who had removed from Fesole, lived at Florence in the Mercato Vecchio.

[2] —— *Giuda*
And Infangato.] Giuda Guidi and the family of Infangati.

[3] *A thing incredible I tell, though true.*] Io dirò cosa incredibile e vera.
Ἐγώ σοι ἐρῶ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄπιστον μὲν νὴ τοὺς θεούς, ἀληθὲς δε. *Plato, Theages*, Bipont. Edit. tom. ii. p. 23.

[4] *The gateway.*] Landino refers this to the smallness of the city : Vellutello, with less probability, to the simplicity of the people in naming one of the gates after a private family.

[5] *The great Baron.*] The Marchese Ugo, who resided at Florence as lieutenant of the Emperor Otho III., gave many of the chief families licence to bear his arms. See G. Villani, lib. iv. cap. ii., where the vision is related, in consequence of which he sold all his possessions in Germany, and founded seven abbeys ; in one whereof, his memory was celebrated at Florence on St. Thomas's day. "The marquis, when hunting, strayed away from his people, and wandering through a forest, came to a smithy, where he saw black and deformed men tormenting others with fire and hammers ; and, asking the meaning of this, he was told that they were condemned souls, who suffered this punishment, and that the soul of the Marquis Ugo was doomed to suffer the same, if he did not repent. Struck with horror, he commended himself to the Virgin Mary ; and soon after founded the seven religious houses."

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Albeit one,[1] who borders them with gold,
This day is mingled with the common herd.
In Borgo yet the Gualterotti dwelt,
And Importuni :[2] well for its repose,
Had it still lack'd of newer neighbourhood.[3]
The house,[4] from whence your tears have had their spring,
Through the just anger, that hath murder'd ye
And put a period to your gladsome days,
Was honour'd ; it, and those consorted with it.
O Buondelmonti ! what ill counseling
Prevail'd on thee to break the plighted bond ?
Many, who now are weeping, would rejoice,
Had God to Ema[5] given thee, the first time
Thou near our city camest. But so was doom'd :
Florence ! on that maim'd stone[6] which guards the bridge,
The victim, when thy peace departed, fell.
"With these and others like to them, I saw
Florence in such assured tranquillity,
She had no cause at which to grieve : with these
Saw her so glorious and so just, that ne'er

[1] *One.*] Giano della Bella, belonging to one of the families thus distinguished, who no longer retained his place among the nobility, and had yet added to his arms a bordure or. See Macchiavelli, Ist. Fior. lib. ii. p. 86. Ediz. Giolito.

[2] —— *Gualterotti dwelt,*
And Importuni.] Two families in the compartment of the city called Borgo.

[3] *Newer neighbourhood.*] Some understand this of the Bardi; and others, of the Buondelmonti.

[4] *The house.*] Of Amidei. See notes to Canto xxviii. of Hell, 102.

[5] *To Ema.*] "It had been well for the city, if thy ancestor had been drowned in the Ema, when he crossed that stream on his way from Montebuono to Florence."

[6] *On that maim'd stone.*] See Hell, Canto xiii. 144. Near the remains of the statue of Mars, Buondelmonti was slain, as if he had been a victim to the god; and Florence had not since known the blessing of peace.

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The lily[1] from the lance had hung reverse,
Or through division been with vermeil dyed."

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT

Cacciaguida predicts to our Poet his exile and the calamities he had to suffer; and, lastly, exhorts him to write the present poem.

Such as the youth,[2] who came to Clymene,
To certify himself of that reproach
Which had been fasten'd on him (he whose end
Still makes the fathers chary to their sons),
E'en such was I; nor unobserved was such
Of Beatrice, and that saintly lamp,[3]
Who had erewhile for me his station moved;
When thus my lady: "Give thy wish free vent,
That it may issue, bearing true report
Of the mind's impress: not that aught thy word
May to our knowledge add, but to the end
That thou mayst use thyself to own thy thirst,[4]
And men may mingle for thee when they hear."
"O plant, from whence I spring! revered and loved!
Who soar'st so high a pitch, that thou as clear,[5]

[1] *The lily.*] "The arms of Florence had never hung reversed on the spear of her enemies, in token of her defeat; nor been changed from argent to gules;" as they afterwards were, when the Guelfi gained the predominance.

[2] *The youth.*] Phaëton, who came to his mother Clymene, to inquire of her if he were indeed the son of Apollo. See Ovid, Met. lib. i. ad finem.

[3] *That saintly lamp.*] Cacciaguida.

[4] *To own thy thirst.*] "That thou mayst obtain from others a solution of any doubt that may occur to thee."

[5] *That thou as clear.*] "Thou beholdest future events with the same clearness of evidence that we discern the simplest mathematical demonstrations."

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As earthly thought determines two obtuse
In one triangle not contain'd, so clear
Dost see contingencies, ere in themselves
Existent, looking at the point [1] whereto
All times are present ; I, the whilst I scaled
With Virgil the soul-purifying mount [2]
And visited the nether world [3] of woe,
Touching my future destiny have heard
Words grievous, though I feel me on all sides
Well squared [4] to fortune's blows. Therefore my will
Were satisfied to know the lot awaits me.
The arrow,[5] seen beforehand, slacks his flight."
So said I to the brightness, which erewhile
To me had spoken ; and my will declared,
As Beatrice will'd, explicitly.
Nor with oracular response obscure,
Such as, or e'er the Lamb of God was slain,
Beguiled the credulous nations : but, in terms
Precise, and unambiguous lore, replied
The spirit of paternal love, enshrined,
Yet in his smile apparent ; and thus spake :
"Contingency,[6] whose verge extendeth not

[1] *The point.*] The divine nature.

[2] *The soul-purifying mount.*] See Purg. Canto viii. 133, and Canto xi. 140.

[3] *The nether world.*] See Hell, Canto x. 77, and Canto xv. 61.

[4] *Well squared.*] See Plato, Protagoras, Ed. Bipont. vol. iii. p. 145, and Aristot. Rhetor. lib. iii., where Pietro Vettori, in his Commentary, p. 656, remarks : "Quis nescit Dantem etiam suo in poemate tetragonum vocasse apposite hominem, qui adversis casibus non frangitur sed resistit fortiter ipsis ?"

[5] *The arrow.*] A line repeated by Ruccellai in his Oreste.

Nam prævisa minus lædere tela solent. *Ovid.*

Che piaga antiveduta assai men duole.
Petrarca, Trionfo del Tempo.

[6] *Contingency.*] La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno
Della vostra materia non si stende.

I had before understood this, "Contingency, which is not exposed to view on the tablet of your nature," "which is not discoverable by

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Beyond the tablet of your mortal mold,
Is all depictured in the eternal sight ;
But hence deriveth not necessity,[1]
More than the tall ship, hurried down the flood,
Is driven by the eye that looks on it.
From thence,[2] as to the ear sweet harmony
From organ comes, so comes before mine eye
The time prepared for thee. Such as driven out
From Athens, by his cruel step-dame's[3] wiles,
Hippolytus departed ; such must thou
Depart from Florence. This they wish, and this
Contrive, and will ere long effectuate, there,[4]
Where gainful merchandize is made of Christ
Throughout the live-long day. The common cry,[5]
Will, as 'tis ever wont, affix the blame
Unto the party injured : but the truth
Shall, in the vengeance it dispenseth, find
A faithful witness. Thou shalt leave each thing[6]
Beloved most dearly : this is the first shaft
Shot from the bow of exile. Thou shalt prove
How salt the savour is of other's bread ;
How hard the passage, to descend and climb
By other's stairs. But that shall gall thee most,

your human understanding," and had translated it accordingly; but have now adopted Lombardi's explanation: "Contingency, which has no place beyond the limits of the material world."

1 *Necessity.*] "The evidence with which we see casual events pourtrayed in the source of all truth, no more necessitates those events, than does the image, reflected in the sight by a ship sailing down a stream, necessitate the motion of the veasel."

2 *From thence.*] "From the eternal sight; the view of the Deity himself."

3 *His cruel step-dame.*] Phædra.

4 *There.*] At Rome, where the expulsion of Dante's party from Florence was then plotting, in 1300.

5 *The common cry.*] The multitude will, as usual, be ready to blame those who are sufferers, whose cause will at last be vindicated by the overthrow of their enemies.

6 *Thou shalt leave each thing.*] Compare Euripid. Phœn. 399, etc.

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Will be the worthless and vile company,
With whom thou must be thrown into these straits.
For all ungrateful, impious all, and mad,
Shall turn 'gainst thee : but in a little while,
Theirs,[1] and not thine, shall be the crimson'd brow,
Their course shall so evince their brutishness,
To have ta'en thy stand apart shall well become
thee.
"First refuge thou must find, first place of rest,
In the great Lombard's[2] courtesy, who bears,
Upon the ladder perch'd, the sacred bird.
He shall behold thee with such kind regard,
That 'twixt ye two, the contrary to that
Which 'fals 'twixt other men, the granting shall
Forerun the asking. With him shalt thou see
That mortal,[3] who was at his birth imprest
So strongly from this star, that of his deeds
The nations shall take note. His unripe age
Yet holds him from observance ; for these wheels
Only nine years have compast him about.
But, ere the Gascon[4] practise on great Harry,[5]
Sparkles of virtue shall shoot forth in him,
In equal scorn[6] of labours and of gold.

[1] *Theirs.*] "They shall be ashamed of the part they have taken against thee." Lombardi, I think, is very unhappy in his conjecture, that rotta la tempia, a reading of the Nidobeatina edition, should be adopted, and that it may mean "the broken heads of his companions".

[2] *The great Lombard.*] Either Bartolommeo della Scala; or Alboino his brother, although our Poet has spoken ambiguously of him in his Convito, iv. 16. Their coat of arms was a ladder and an eagle. For an account of the rise of this family from a very mean condition, see G. Villani, lib. xi. cap. xciv.

[3] *That mortal.*] Can Grande della Scala, born under the influence of Mars, but at this time only nine years old. He was, as the other two, a son of Alberto della Scala.

[4] *The Gascon.*] Pope Clement V. See Hell, Canto xix. 86, and note, and Par. Canto xxvii. 53, and Canto xxx. 141.

[5] *Great Harry.*] The Emperor Henry VII. See Canto xxx 135.

[6] *In equal scorn.*] See Hell, Canto i. 98.

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His bounty shall be spread abroad so widely,
As not to let the tongues, e'en of his foes,
Be idle in its praise. Look thou to him,
And his beneficence : for he shall cause
Reversal of their lot to many people ;
Rich men and beggars interchanging fortunes.
And thou shalt bear this written in thy soul,
Of him, but tell it not : " and things he told
Incredible to those who witness them ;
Then added : " So interpret thou, my son,
What hath been told thee.—Lo ! the ambushment
That a few circling seasons hide for thee.
Yet envy not thy neighbours : time extends
Thy span beyond their treason's chastisement."
Soon as the saintly spirit, by silence, mark'd
Completion of that web, which I had stretch'd
Before it, warp'd for weaving ; I began,
As one, who in perplexity desires
Counsel of other, wise, benign, and friendly :
" My father ! well I mark how time spurs on
Towards me, ready to inflict the blow,
Which falls most heavily on him who most
Abandoneth himself. Therefore 'tis good
I should forecast, that, driven from the place [1]
Most dear to me, I may not lose myself [2]
All other by my song. Down through the world
Of infinite mourning ; and along the mount,
From whose fair height my lady's eyes did lift me ;
And, after, through this heaven, from light to light ;
Have I learnt that, which if I tell again,

[1] *The place.*] Our Poet here discovers both that Florence, much as he inveighs against it, was still the dearest object of his affections, and that it was not without some scruple he indulged his satirical vein.

[2] *I may not lose myself.*] " That being driven out of my country, I may not deprive myself of every other place by the boldness, with which I expose in my writings the vices of mankind."

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It may with many wofully disrelish :
And, if I am a timid friend to truth,
I fear my life may perish among those,
To whom these days shall be of ancient date."
The brightness, where enclosed the treasure[1] smiled,
Which I had found there, first shone glisteringly,
Like to a golden mirror in the sun ;
Next answer'd : "Conscience, dimm'd or by its own
Or other's shame, will feel thy saying sharp.
Thou, notwithstanding, all deceit removed,
See the whole vision be made manifest.
And let them wince, who have their withers wrung.
What though, when tasted first, thy voice shall prove
Unwelcome : on digestion, it will turn
To vital nourishment. The cry thou raisest,[2]
Shall, as the wind doth, smite the proudest summits ;
Which is of honour no light argument.
For this, there only have been shown to thee,
Throughout these orbs, the mountain, and the deep,
Spirits, whom fame hath note of. For the mind
Of him, who hears, is loth to acquiesce
And fix its faith, unless the instance brought
Be palpable, and proof apparent urge."

[1] *The treasure.*] Cacciaguida.
[2] *The cry thou raisest.*] "Thou shalt stigmatise the faults of those who are most eminent and powerful; for men are naturally less moved by instances, adduced from among those who are in the lower classes of life."

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CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT

Dante sees the souls of many renowned warriors and crusaders in the planet Mars; and then ascends with Beatrice to Jupiter, the sixth heaven, in which he finds the souls of those who had administered justice rightly in the world, so disposed, as to form the figure of an eagle. The Canto concludes with an invective against the avarice of the clergy, and especially of the pope.

Now [1] in his word, sole, ruminating, joy'd
That blessed spirit: and I fed on mine,
Tempering the sweet with bitter.[2] She meanwhile,
Who led me unto God, admonish'd: "Muse
On other thoughts: bethink thee, that near Him
I dwell, who recompenseth every wrong."
At the sweet sounds of comfort straight I turn'd;
And, in the saintly eyes what love was seen,
I leave in silence here, nor through distrust
Of my words only, but that to such bliss
The mind remounts not without aid. Thus much
Yet may I speak; that, as I gazed on her,
Affection found no room for other wish.
While the everlasting pleasure, that did full
On Beatrice shine, with second view
From her fair countenance my gladden'd soul
Contented; vanquishing me with a beam

[1] *Now.*] The spirit of Cacciaguida enjoyed its own thoughts in silence.

[2] *Tempering the sweet with bitter.*]

Chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancy.
Shakspeare, As you Like it, act iii. scene 3.

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Of her soft smile, she spake: "Turn thee, and list.
These eyes are not thy only Paradise."
As here, we sometimes in the looks may see
The affection mark'd, when that its sway hath ta'en
The spirit wholly; thus the hallow'd light,[1]
To whom I turn'd, flashing, bewray'd its will
To talk yet further with me, and began:
"On this fifth lodgment of the tree,[2] whose life
Is from its top, whose fruit is ever fair
And leaf unwithering, blessed spirits abide,
That were below, ere they arrived in heaven,
So mighty in renown, as every muse
Might grace her triumph with them. On the horns
Look, therefore, of the cross: he whom I name,
Shall there enact, as doth in summer cloud
Its nimble fire." Along the cross I saw,
At the repeated name of Joshua,
A splendour gliding; nor, the word was said,
Ere it was done: then, at the naming, saw,
Of the great Maccabee,[3] another move
With whirling speed; and gladness was the scourge
Unto that top. The next for Charlemain[4]
And for the peer Orlando, two my gaze
Pursued, intently, as the eye pursues
A falcon flying. Last, along the cross,

[1] *The hallow'd light.*] In which the spirit of Cacciaguida was enclosed.

[2] *On this fifth lodgment of the tree.*] Mars, the fifth of the heavens.

[3] *The great Maccabee.*] Judas Maccabeus.

[4] *Charlemain.*] L. Pulci commends Dante for placing Charlemain and Orlando here:—

> Io mi confido ancor molto quì a Dante,
> Che non sanza cagion nel ciel su misse
> Carlo ed Orlando in quelle croci sante,
> Che come diligente intese e scrisse.
>
> *Morg. Magg.*, c. xxviii.

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William, and Renard,[1] and Duke Godfrey[2] drew
My ken, and Robert Guiscard.[3] And the soul
Who spake with me, among the other lights
Did move away, and mix; and with the quire
Of heavenly songsters proved his tuneful skill.
To Beatrice on my right I bent,
Looking for intimation, or by word
Or act, what next behoved; and did descry
Such mere effulgence in her eyes, such joy,
It pass'd all former wont. And, as by sense
Of new delight, the man, who perseveres
In good deeds, doth perceive, from day to day,
His virtue growing; I e'en thus perceived,
Of my ascent, together with the heaven,
The circuit widen'd; noting the increase
Of beauty in that wonder. Like the change
In a brief moment on some maiden's cheek,
Which, from its fairness, doth discharge the weight
Of pudency, that stain'd it; such in her,
And to mine eyes so sudden was the change,
Through silvery[4] whiteness of that temperate star,

[1] *William, and Renard.*] [William, Count of Orange, who, under the name of Guillaume Fierebrace or Guillaume au Court-Nez, was the central figure of the Old French *Geste de Guillaume*, in which his exploits in defence of Christendom against the Saracens are celebrated; and Renouard, his henchman and brother-in-law. They both together ended their days in a monastery.]

[2] *Duke Godfrey.*] Godfrey of Bouillon.

Poi venia solo il buon duce Goffrido,
Che fè l' impresa santa e i passi giusti;
Questo, di ch' io mi sdegno e 'ndarno grido,
Fece in Hierusalem con le sue mani
Il mal guardato e già negletto nido.
Petrarca, Tr. della Fama, cap. ii.

[3] *Robert Guiscard.*] See Hell, Canto xxviii. 12.

[4] *Through silvery.*] So in the Convito (ii. 14), "E 'l ciel di Giove, etc." "The heaven of Jupiter may be compared to geometry, for two properties: the one is, that it moves between two heavens repugnant to its temperature, as that of Mars and that of Saturn; whence Ptolemy, in the above-cited book, says that Jupiter is a star of temperate complexion, between the coldness of Saturn and the heat of Mars: the other is, that, among all the stars, it shows itself white, as it were silvered."

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Whose sixth orb now enfolded us. I saw,
Within that Jovial cresset, the clear sparks
Of love, that reign'd there, fashion to my view
Our language. And as birds, from river banks
Arisen, now in round, now lengthen'd troop,
Array them in their flight, greeting, as seems,
Their new-found pastures; so, within the lights,
The saintly creatures flying, sang; and made
Now D, now I, now L, figured i' the air.
First singing to their notes they moved; then, one
Becoming of these signs, a little while
Did rest them, and were mute. O nymph divine[1]
Of Pegasean race! who souls, which thou
Inspirest, makest glorious and long-lived, as they
Cities and realms by thee; thou with thyself
Inform me; that I may set forth the shapes,
As fancy doth present them: be thy power
Display'd in this brief song. The characters,[2]
Vocal and consonant, were five-fold seven.
In order, each, as they appear'd, I mark'd
Diligite Justitiam, the first,
Both verb and noun all blazon'd; and the extreme,
Qui judicatis terram. In the M
Of the fifth word they held their station;
Making the star seem silver streak'd with gold.
And on the summit of the M, I saw
Descending other lights, that rested there,
Singing, methinks, their bliss and primal good.
Then, as at shaking of a lighted brand,
Sparkles innumerable on all sides

[1] *O nymph divine.*] "O muse, thou that makest thy votaries glorious and long-lived, as they, assisted by thee, make glorious and long-lived the cities and realms which they celebrate, now enlighten me, etc."

[2] *The characters.*] Diligite justitiam qui judicatis terram. "Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth." *Wisdom of Solomon*, c. i. l.

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Rise scatter'd, source of augury to the unwise ;[1]
Thus more than thousand twinkling lustres hence
Seem'd reascending ; and a higher pitch
Some mounting, and some less, e'en as the sun,
Which kindleth them, decreed. And when each one
Had settled in his place ; the head and neck
Then saw I of an eagle, livelily
Graved in that streaky fire. Who painteth there,[2]
Hath none to guide Him : of Himself he guides :
And every line and texture of the nest
Doth own from Him the virtue fashions it.
The other bright beatitude,[3] that seem'd
Erewhile, with lilied crowning, well content
To over-canopy the M, moved forth,
Following gently the impress of the bird.

Sweet star ! what glorious and thick-studded gems
Declared to me our justice on the earth
To be the effluence of that heaven, which thou,
Thyself a costly jewel, dost inlay.
Therefore I pray the Sovran Mind, from whom
Thy motion and thy virtue are begun,
That He would look from whence the fog doth rise,
To vitiate thy beam ; so that once more[4]
He may put forth his hand 'gainst such, as drive
Their traffic in that sanctuary, whose walls
With miracles and martyrdoms were built.

Ye host of heaven, whose glory I survey !
O beg ye grace for those, that are, on earth,
All after ill example gone astray.
War once had for his instrument the sword :

[1] *The unwise.*] Who augur future riches to themselves in proportion to the quantity of sparks that fly from the lighted brand when it is shaken.

[2] *Who painteth there.*] The Deity himself.

[3] *Beatitude.*] The band of spirits; for "beatitudo" is here a noun of multitude.

[4] *That once more.*] "That he may again drive out those who buy and sell in the temple."

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But now 'tis made, taking the bread away,[1]
Which the good Father locks from none.—And thou,
That writest but to cancel,[2] think, that they,
Who for the vineyard, which thou wastest, died,
Peter and Paul, live yet, and mark thy doings.
Thou hast good cause to cry, "My heart so cleaves
To him,[3] that lived in solitude remote,
And for a dance[4] was dragg'd to martyrdom,
I wist not of the fisherman nor Paul."

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT

The eagle speaks as with one voice proceeding from a multitude of spirits, that compose it; and declares the cause for which it is exalted to that state of glory. It then solves a doubt, which our Poet had entertained, respecting the possibility of salvation without belief in Christ; exposes the inefficacy of a mere profession of such belief; and prophesies the evil appearance that many Christian potentates will make at the day of judgment.

BEFORE my sight appear'd, with open wings,
The beauteous image; in fruition sweet,
Gladdening the thronged spirits. Each did seem
A little ruby, whereon so intense
The sun-beam glow'd, that to mine eyes it came
In clear refraction. And that, which next

[1] *Taking the bread away.*] "Excommunication, or interdiction of the eucharist, is now employed as a weapon of warfare."

[2] *That writest but to cancel.*] "And thou, Pope Boniface [more probably John XXII.], who writest thy ecclesiastical censures for no other purpose than to be paid for revoking them."

[3] *To him.*] The coin of Florence was stamped with the impression of John the Baptist; and, for this, the avaricious pope is made to declare that he felt more devotion, than either for Peter or Paul.

[4] *And for a dance.*] I am indebted to an intelligent critic in the Monthly Review, 1823, for pointing out my former erroneous translation of the words "per salti," "From the wilds."

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Befals me to pourtray, voice hath not utter'd,
Nor hath ink written,[1] nor in fantasy
Was e'er conceived. For I beheld and heard
The beak discourse; and, what intention form'd
Of many, singly as of one express,
Beginning: "For that I was just and piteous,
I am exalted to this height of glory,
The which no wish exceeds: and there on earth
Have I my memory left, e'en by the bad
Commended, while they leave its course untrod."
Thus is one heat from many embers felt;
As in that image many were the loves,
And one the voice, that issued from them all:
Whence I address'd them: "O perennial flowers
Of gladness everlasting! that exhale
In single breath your odours manifold;
Breathe now: and let the hunger be appeased,
That with great craving long hath held my soul,
Finding no food on earth. This well I know;
That if there be in heaven a realm, that shows
In faithful mirror the celestial Justice,
Yours without veil reflects it. Ye discern
The heed, wherewith I do prepare myself
To hearken; ye, the doubt, that urges me
With such inveterate craving." Straight I saw,
Like to a falcon[2] issuing from the hood,

[1] *Nor hath ink written.*]
This joie ne maie not written be with inke.
Chaucer, Troilus and Cresseide, b. iii.

[2] *Like to a falcon.*] Come falcon ch' uscisse dal cappello.
Boccaccio, Il Filostrato, p. iv. st. 83.

Which Chaucer translates:—
As fresh as faucon coming out of mew.
Troilus and Cresseide, b. iii.

Poi come fa 'l falcon, quando si move,
Così Umiltà al cielo alzò la vista.
Frezzi, Il Quadrir. lib. iv. cap. 5.

Rinaldo stà come suole il falcone
Uscito del capello a la veleta.
L. Pulci, Morgante Magg. c. xi.

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That rears his head, and claps him with his wings,
His beauty and his eagerness bewraying;
So saw I move that stately sign, with praise
Of grace divine inwoven, and high song
Of inexpressive joy. "He," it began,
"Who turn'd his compass [1] on the worlds extreme,
And in that space so variously hath wrought,
Both openly and in secret; in such wise
Could not, through all the universe, display
Impression of his glory, that the Word [2]
Of his omniscience should not still remain
In infinite excess. In proof whereof,
He first through pride supplanted, who was sum
Of each created being, waited not
For light celestial; and abortive fell.
Whence needs each lesser nature is but scant
Receptacle unto that Good, which knows
No limit, measured by itself alone.
Therefore your sight, of the omnipresent Mind
A single beam, its origin must own
Surpassing far its utmost potency.
The ken, your world is gifted with, descends
In the everlasting Justice as low down,
As eye doth in the sea; which, though it mark
The bottom from the shore, in the wide main

1 *Who turn'd his compass.*] "When he prepared the heavens, I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth." *Proverbs*, viii. 27.

——— In his hand
He took the golden compasses, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This universe, and all created things.
Milton, P. L. b. vii. 227.

2 *The Word.*] "The divine nature still remained incomprehensible. Of this Lucifer was a proof; for he, though the chief of all created beings, yet, through his pride, waiting not for further supplies of the divine illumination, fell without coming to maturity." Thus our author in the De Vulgari Eloquio, speaking of the fallen angels, says, "divinam curam perversi expectare noluerunt." L. i. c. 2.

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Discerns it not ; and ne'ertheless it is ;
But hidden through its deepness. Light is none,
Save that which cometh from the pure serene
Of ne'er disturbed ether : for the rest,
'Tis darkness all ; or shadow of the flesh,
Or else its poison. Here confess reveal'd
That covert, which hath hidden from thy search
The living justice, of the which thou madest
Such frequent question : for thou said'st—'A man
Is born on Indus' banks, and none is there
Who speaks of Christ, nor who doth read nor write ;
And all his inclinations and his acts,
As far as human reason sees, are good ;
And he offendeth not in word or deed :
But unbaptized he dies, and void of faith.
Where is the justice that condemns him ? where
His blame, if he believeth not ?'—What then,
And who art thou, that on the stool wouldst sit
To judge at distance of a thousand miles
With the short-sighted vision of a span ?
To him,[1] who subtilises thus with me,
There would assuredly be room for doubt
Even to wonder, did not the safe word
Of Scripture hold supreme authority.
"O animals of clay ! O spirits gross !
The primal will,[2] that in itself is good,
Hath from itself, the chief Good, ne'er been moved.
Justice consists in consonance with it,

1 *To him.*] "He, who should argue, on the words I have just used, respecting the fate of those who have wanted means of knowing the Gospel, would certainly have cause enough to doubt, if he did not defer to the authority of Scripture, which pronounces God to be thoroughly just."

2 *The primal will.*] The divine will.

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Derivable by no created good,
Whose very cause depends upon its beam."
As on her nest the stork, that turns about
Unto her young, whom lately she hath fed,
Whiles they with upward eyes do look on her ;
So lifted I my gaze ; and, bending so,
The ever-blessed image waved its wings,
Labouring with such deep counsel. Wheeling round
It warbled, and did say : "As are my notes
To thee, who understand'st them not ; such is
The eternal judgment unto mortal ken."
Then still abiding in that ensign ranged,
Wherewith the Romans overawed the world,
Those burning splendours of the Holy Spirit
Took up the strain ; and thus it spake again :
"None ever hath ascended to this realm,
Who hath not a believer been in Christ,
Either before or after the blest limbs
Were nail'd upon the wood. But lo ! of those
Who call 'Christ, Christ,'[1] there shall be many found,
In judgment, further off from him by far,
Than such to whom his name was never known.
Christians like these the Æthiop[2] shall condemn :
When that the two assemblages shall part ;
One rich eternally, the other poor.
"What may the Persians say unto your kings,
When they shall see that volume,[3] in the which

[1] *Who call 'Christ, Christ'.*] "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven." *Matt.* vii. 21.

[2] *The Æthiop.*] "The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it." *Matt.* xii. 41.

[3] *That volume.*] "And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works," *Rev.* xx. 12.

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All their dispraise is written, spread to view?
There amidst Albert's [1] works shall that be read,
Which will give speedy motion to the pen,
When Prague [2] shall mourn her desolated realm.
There shall be read the woe, that he [3] doth work
With his adulterate money on the Seine,
Who by the tusk will perish: there be read
The thirsting pride, that maketh fool alike
The English and Scot,[4] impatient of their bound.
There shall be seen the Spaniard's luxury;[5]
The delicate living there of the Bohemian,[6]
Who still to worth has been a willing stranger.
The halter of Jerusalem [7] shall see
A unit for his virtue; for his vices,
No less a mark than million. He,[8] who guards
The isle of fire by old Anchises honour'd,
Shall find his avarice there and cowardice;
And better to denote his littleness,

[1] *Albert.*] Purgatory, Canto vi. 98.

[2] *Prague.*] The eagle predicts the devastation of Bohemia by Albert, which happened soon after this time, when that emperor obtained the kingdom for his eldest son Rodolph. See Coxe's House of Austria, 4to ed. vol. i. part i. p. 87.

[3] *He.*] Philip IV. of France, after the battle of Courtrai, 1302, in which the French were defeated by the Flemings, raised the nominal value of the coin. This king died in consequence of his horse being thrown to the ground by a wild boar, in 1314. The circumstances of his death are minutely related by Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo. lib. iv. cap. 19.

[4] *The English and Scot.*] He adverts to the disputes between John Baliol and Edward I., the latter of whom is commended in the Purgatory, Canto vii. 130.

[5] *The Spaniard's luxury.*] The commentators refer this to Alonzo X. of Spain. It seems probable that the allusion is to Ferdinand IV. who came to the crown in 1295, and died in 1312, at the age of twenty-four, in consequence, as it was supposed, of his extreme intemperance. See Mariana, Hist. lib. xv. cap. 11.

[6] *The Bohemian.*] Winceslaus IV. Purgatory, Canto vii. 99.

[7] *The halter of Jerusalem.*] Charles II. of Naples and Jerusalem, who was lame. See note to Purgatory, Canto vii. 122, and xx. 78.

[8] *He.*] Frederick of Sicily, son of Peter III. of Arragon. Purgatory, Canto vii. 117. The isle of fire is Sicily, where was the tomb of Anchises.

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The writing must be letters maim'd, that speak
Much in a narrow space. All there shall know
His uncle [1] and his brother's [2] filthy doings,
Who so renown'd a nation and two crowns
Have bastardized.[3] And they, of Portugal [4]
And Norway,[5] there shall be exposed, with him
Of Ratza,[6] who hath counterfeited ill
The coin of Venice. O blest Hungary ! [7]
If thou no longer patiently abidest
Thy ill-entreating : and, O blest Navarre ! [8]
If with thy mountainous girdle [9] thou wouldst arm
thee.
In earnest of that day, e'en now are heard
Wailings and groans in Famagosta's streets

[1] *His uncle.*] James, king of Majorca and Minorca, brother to Peter III.

[2] *His brother.*] James II. of Arragon, who died in 1327. See Purgatory, Canto vii. 117.

[3] *Bastardized.*] "Bozze," according to Bembo, is a Provençal word for "bastardo e non legitimo". *Della Volg. Lingua.* lib. i. p. 25. Ediz. 1544. Others have understood it to mean, "one dishonoured by his wife".

[4] *Of Portugal.*] In the time of Dante, Dionysius was king of Portugal. He died in 1325, after a reign of nearly forty-six years, and does not seem to have deserved the stigma here fastened on him. See Mariana, lib. xv. cap. 18. Perhaps the rebellious son of Dionysius may be alluded to.

[5] *Norway.*] Haquin, king of Norway, is probably meant; who, having given refuge to the murderers of Eric VII. king of Denmark, A.D. 1288, commenced a war against his successor Eric VIII. "which continued for nine years, almost to the utter ruin and destruction of both kingdoms". *Modern Univ. Hist.* vol. xxxii. p. 215.

[6] —— *Him of Ratza.*] [Stephen Ouros II. (1275-1321), king of Rascia (by which name the kingdom of Servia was known in the Middle Ages); he issued coins of debased metal in imitation of the Venetian *grosso.*]

[7] *Hungary.*] The kingdom of Hungary was about this time disputed by Carobert, son of Charles Martel, and Winceslaus, prince of Bohemia, son of Winceslaus IV. See Coxe's House of Austria, vol. i. part. i. p. 86, 4to edit.

[8] *Navarre.*] Navarre was now under the yoke of France. It soon after (in 1328) followed the advice of Dante, and had a monarch of its own. Mariana, lib. xv. cap. 19.

[9] *Mountainous girdle.*] The Pyrenees.

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And Nicosia's,[1] grudging at their beast,
Who keepeth even footing with the rest." [2]

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT

The eagle celebrates the praise of certain kings, whose glorified spirits form the eye of the bird. In the pupil is David; and, in the circle round it, Trajan, Hezekiah, Constantine, William II. of Sicily, and Ripheus. It explains to our Poet, how the souls of those whom he supposed to have had no means of believing in Christ, came to be in heaven; and concludes with an admonition against presuming to fathom the counsels of God.

When, disappearing from our hemisphere,
The world's enlightener vanishes, and day
On all sides wasteth; suddenly the sky,
Erewhile irradiate only with his beam,
Is yet again unfolded, putting forth
Innumerable lights wherein one shines.[3]

1 —— *Famagosta's streets*
And Nicosia's.] Cities in the kingdom of Cyprus, at that time ruled by Henry II., a pusillanimous prince. Vertot, Hist. des Chev. de Malte, lib. iii. iv. The meaning appears to be, that the complaints made by those cities of their weak and worthless governor, may be regarded as an earnest of his condemnation at the last doom.

2 *The rest.*] "Wise Poet!" thus Landino concludes his commentary on this Canto; "to whom the human race owes obligations for having thus severely reprehended the faults of princes; since these are not, like the errors of private persons, harmful to one or a few only; but injure all the country which they govern; and a single one frequently causes the ruin of whole nations". Much to the same effect is a memorable sentence in Xenophon's Agesilaus, that excellent manual for princes. *καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἁμαρτίας πρᾴως ἔφερε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλας ἦγε, κρίνων, τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγα, τοὺς δὲ πολλὰ κακῶς διατιθέναι.* C. xi. 6. Compare also the opening of Demosthenes' second Speech against Aristogiton.

3 *Wherein one shines.*] The light of the sun, whence he supposes the other celestial bodies to derive their light. Thus, in the Convito, iii. 12. "Nullo sensibile, etc." "No sensible object in the world is

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Of such vicissitude in heaven I thought ;
As the great sign,[1] that marshaleth the world
And the world's leaders, in the blessed beak
Was silent : for that all those living lights,
Waxing in splendour, burst forth into songs,
Such as from memory glide and fall away.
Sweet Love, that dost apparel thee in smiles !
How lustrous was thy semblance in those sparkles,
Which merely are from holy thoughts inspired.
After[2] the precious and bright beaming stones,
That did ingem the sixth light, ceased the chiming
Of their angelic bells ; methought I heard
The murmuring of a river, that doth fall
From rock to rock transpicuous, making known
The richness of his spring-head : and as sound
Of cittern, at the fret-board, or of pipe,
Is, at the wind-hole, modulate and tuned ;
Thus up the neck, as it were hollow, rose
That murmuring of the eagle ; and forthwith
Voice there assumed ; and thence along the beak
Issued in form of words, such as my heart
Did look for, on whose tables I inscribed them.
"The part[3] in me, that sees and bears the sun
In mortal eagles," it began, "must now
Be noted stedfastly : for, of the fires,
That figure me, those, glittering in mine eye,
Are chief of all the greatest. This, that shines
Midmost for pupil, was the same who[4] sang

more worthy to be made an example of the deity, than the sun, which with sensible light enlightens first itself, and then all celestial and elementary bodies."

[1] *The great sign.*] The eagle, the Imperial ensign.

[2] *After.*] "After the spirits in the sixth planet (Jupiter) had ceased their singing."

[3] *The part.*] Lombardi well observes, that the head of the eagle is seen in profile, so that one eye only appears.

[4] *Who.*] David.

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The Holy Spirit's song, and bare about
The ark from town to town : now doth he know
The merit of his soul-impassion'd strains
By their well-fitted guerdon. Of the five,
That make the circle of the vision, he,[1]
Who to the beak is nearest, comforted
The widow for her son : now doth he know,
How dear it costeth not to follow Christ ;
Both from experience of this pleasant life,
And of its opposite. He next,[2] who follows
In the circumference, for the over-arch,
By true repenting slack'd the pace of death :
Now knoweth he, that the decrees of heaven[3]
Alter not, when, through pious prayer below,
To-day is made to-morrow's destiny.
The other following,[4] with the laws and me,
To yield the shepherd room, pass'd o'er[5] to Greece ;
From good intent, producing evil fruit :
Now knoweth he, how all the ill, derived
From his well doing, doth not harm him aught ;
Though it have brought destruction on the world.
That, which thou seest in the under bow,
Was William,[6] whom that land bewails, which weeps
For Charles and Frederick living : now he knows,

[1] *He.*] Trajan. See Purgatory, Canto x. 68.

[2] *He next.*] Hezekiah.

[3] *The decrees of heaven.*] The eternal counsels of God are indeed immutable, though they appear to us men to be altered by the prayers of the pious.

[4] *The other following.*] Constantine. There is no passage, in which Dante's opinion of the evil that had arisen from the mixture of the civil with the ecclesiastical power, is more unequivocally declared.

[5] *Pass'd o'er.*] "Left the Roman state to the Pope, and transferred the seat of the empire to Constantinople."

[6] *William.*] William II., king of Sicily, at the latter part of the twelfth century. He was of the Norman line of sovereigns, and obtained the appellation of "the Good"; and, as the Poet says, his loss was as much the subject of regret in his dominions, as the presence of Charles II. of Anjou, and Frederick of Arragon, was of sorrow and complaint.

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How well is loved in heaven the righteous king;
Which he betokens by his radiant seeming.
Who, in the erring world beneath, would deem
That Trojan Ripheus,[1] in this round, was set,
Fifth of the saintly splendours? now he knows
Enough of that, which the world cannot see;
The grace divine: albeit e'en his sight
Reach not its utmost depth." Like to the lark,
That warbling in the air expatiates long,
Then, trilling out his last sweet melody,
Drops, satiate with the sweetness; such appear'd
That image, stampt by the everlasting pleasure,
Which fashions, as they are, all things that be.
I, though my doubting were as manifest,
As is through glass[2] the hue that mantles it,
In silence waited not; for to my lips
"What things are these?" involuntary rush'd,
And forced a passage out: whereat I mark'd

[1] *Trojan Ripheus.*]

Ripheus justissimus unus
Qui fuit in Teucris, et servantissimus æqui.
Virg. Æn. lib. ii. 427.

Then Ripheus fell, the justest far of all
The sons of Troy. *Pitt.*

[2] *Through glass.*] This is the only allusion I have remarked in our author to the art of painting glass. [Dante's reference is to glass 'coated' with a film of colour on one side, not to glass coloured throughout ('pot-metal').] Tiraboschi traces that invention in Italy as far back as the end of the eighth century. Stor. della Lett. Ital. tom. iii. lib. iii. cap. vi. § ii. This, however, if we may trust Mr. Warton's judgment, must have been a sort of mosaic in glass. For to express figures in glass, or what we now call the art of painting in glass, that writer observes, "was a very different work; and I believe I can show it was brought from Constantinople to Rome before the tenth century, with other ornamental arts". *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. xxii. In the following passage from the Dittamondo of Fazio degli Uberti, lib. v. cap. 3, the allusion is to mosaic in glass:—

E pensa s' ai veduto e posto cura,
Quando il musaico con vetri dipinti
Adorna e compon ben la sua pittura,
E quei che son più riccamente tinti
Nelle più nobil parti gli son sempre,
Ed e converso nel men gli più stinti.

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A sudden lightening and new revelry.
The eye was kindled ; and the blessed sign,
No more to keep me wondering and suspense,
Replied : "I see that thou believest these things,
Because I tell them, but discern'st not how ;
So that thy knowledge waits not on thy faith :
As one, who knows the name of thing by rote,
But is a stranger to its properties,
Till other's tongue reveal them. Fervent love,
And lively hope, with violence assail
The kingdom of the heavens, and overcome
The will of the Most High ; not in such sort
As man prevails o'er man ; but conquers it,
Because 'tis willing to be conquer'd ; still,
Though conquer'd, by its mercy, conquering.
"Those, in the eye who live the first and fifth,
Cause thee to marvel, in that thou behold'st
The region of the angels deck'd with them.
They quitted not their bodies, as thou deem'st,
Gentiles, but Christians ; in firm rooted faith,
This,[1] of the feet in future to be pierced,
That,[2] of feet nail'd already to the cross.
One from the barrier of the dark abyss,
Where never any with good will returns,
Came back unto his bones. Of lively hope
Such was the meed ; of lively hope, that wing'd
The prayers[3] sent up to God for his release,
And put power into them to bend His will.
The glorious Spirit, of whom I speak to thee,
A little while returning to the flesh,
Believed in him, who had the means to help ;
And, in believing, nourish'd such a flame

[1] *This.*] Ripheus.
[2] *That.*] Trajan.
[3] *The prayers.*] The prayers of St. Gregory.

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Of holy love, that at the second death
He was made sharer in our gamesome mirth.
The other, through the riches of that grace,
Which from so deep a fountain doth distil,
As never eye created saw its rising,
Placed all his love below on just and right:
Wherefore, of grace, God oped in him the eye
To the redemption of mankind to come;
Wherein believing, he endured no more
The filth of Paganism, and for their ways
Rebuked the stubborn nations. The three nymphs,[1]
Whom at the right wheel thou beheld'st advancing,
Were sponsors for him, more than thousand years
Before baptising. O how far removed,
Predestination! is thy root from such
As see not the First Cause entire: and ye,
O mortal men! be wary how ye judge:
For we, who see our Maker, know not yet
The number of the chosen; and esteem
Such scantiness of knowledge our delight:
For all our good is, in that primal good,
Concentrate; and God's will and ours are one."

So, by that form divine, was given to me
Sweet medicine to clear and strengthen sight.
And, as one handling skilfully the harp,
Attendant on some skilful songster's voice
Bids the chord vibrate; and therein the song
Acquires more pleasure: so the whilst it spake,
It doth remember me, that I beheld
The pair [2] of blessed luminaries move,
Like the accordant twinkling of two eyes,
Their beamy circlets, dancing to the sounds.

[1] *The three nymphs.*] Faith, Hope and Charity. Purgatory, Canto xxix. 116.

[2] *The pair.*] Ripheus and Trajan.

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CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT

Dante ascends with Beatrice to the seventh heaven, which is the planet Saturn; wherein is placed a ladder, so lofty, that the top of it is out of his sight. Here are the souls of those who had passed their life in holy retirement and contemplation. Piero Damiano comes near them, and answers questions put to him by Dante; then declares who he was on earth; and ends by declaiming against the luxury of pastors and prelates in those times.

Again mine eyes were fix'd on Beatrice;
And, with mine eyes, my soul that in her looks
Found all contentment. Yet no smile she wore:
And, "Did I smile," quoth she, "thou wouldst be straight
Like Semele when into ashes turn'd:
For, mounting these eternal palace-stairs,
My beauty, which the loftier it climbs,
As thou hast noted, still doth kindle more,
So shines, that, were no tempering interposed,
Thy mortal puissance would from its rays
Shrink, as the leaf doth from the thunderbolt.
Into the seventh splendour [1] are we wafted,
That, underneath the burning lion's breast,[2]
Beams, in this hour, commingled with his might.
Thy mind be with thine eyes; and, in them, mirror'd [3]
The shape, which in this mirror shall be shown."
Whoso can deem, how fondly I had fed
My sight upon her blissful countenance,

1 *The seventh splendour.*] The planet Saturn.
2 *The burning lion's breast.*] The constellation Leo.
3 *In them, mirror'd.*] "Let the form which thou shalt now behold in this mirror," the planet, that is, of Saturn (soon after, v. 22, called the Crystal), "be reflected in the mirror of thy sight."

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May know, when to new thoughts I changed, what joy
To do the bidding of my heavenly guide ;
In equal balance,[1] poising either weight.
Within the crystal, which records the name
(As its remoter circle girds the world)
Of that loved monarch,[2] in whose happy reign
No ill had power to harm, I saw rear'd up,
In colour like to sun-illumined gold,
A ladder, which my ken pursued in vain,
So lofty was the summit ; down whose steps
I saw the splendours in such multitude
Descending, every light in heaven, methought,
Was shed thence. As the rooks, at dawn of day,
Bestirring them to dry their feathers chill,
Some speed their way a-field ; and homeward some,
Returning, cross their flight ; while some abide,
And wheel around their airy lodge : so seem'd
That glitterance,[3] wafted on alternate wing,
As upon certain stair it came, and clash'd
Its shining. And one, lingering near us, wax'd
So bright, that in my thought I said : "The love,
Which this betokens me, admits no doubt".
Unwillingly from question I refrain ;
To her, by whom my silence and my speech
Are order'd, looking for a sign : whence she,
Who in the sight of Him, that seeth all,
Saw wherefore I was silent, prompted me
To indulge the fervent wish ; and I began :

[1] *In equal balance.*] "My pleasure was as great in complying with her will, as in beholding her countenance."

[2] *Of that loved monarch.*] Saturn. Compare Hell, Canto xiv. 91.

[3] *That glitterance.*] Quello sfavillar. That multitude of shining spirits, who, coming to a certain point of the ladder, made those different movements, which he has described as made by the birds.

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"I am not worthy, of my own desert,
That thou shouldst answer me: but for her sake,
Who hath vouchsafed my asking, spirit blest,
That in thy joy art shrouded! say the cause,
Which bringeth thee so near: and wherefore, say,
Doth the sweet symphony of Paradise
Keep silence here, pervading with such sounds
Of rapt devotion every lower sphere?"
"Mortal art thou in hearing, as in sight;"
Was the reply: "and what forbade the smile[1]
Of Beatrice interrupts our song.
Only to yield thee gladness of my voice,
And of the light that vests me, I thus far
Descend these hallow'd steps: not that more love
Invites me; for, lo! there aloft,[2] as much
Or more of love is witness'd in those flames:
But such my lot by charity assign'd,
That makes us ready servants, as thou seest,
To execute the counsel of the Highest."
"That in this court," said I, "O sacred lamp!
Love no compulsion needs, but follows free
The eternal Providence, I well discern:
This harder find to deem: why, of thy peers,
Thou only, to this office wert foredoom'd."
I had not ended, when, like rapid mill,
Upon its centre whirl'd the light; and then
The love that did inhabit there, replied:
"Splendour eternal, piercing through these folds,
Its virtue to my vision knits; and thus
Supported, lifts me so above myself,
That on the sovran essence, which it wells from,
I have the power to gaze: and hence the joy,

[1] *What forbade the smile.*] "Because it would have overcome thee."

[2] *There aloft.*] Where the other souls were.

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Wherewith I sparkle, equaling with my blaze
The keenness of my sight. But not the soul,[1]
That is in heaven most lustrous, nor the seraph,
That hath his eyes most fix'd on God, shall solve
What thou hast ask'd: for in the abyss it lies
Of th' everlasting statute sunk so low,
That no created ken may fathom it.
And, to the mortal world when thou return'st,
Be this reported: that none henceforth dare
Direct his footsteps to so dread a bourn.
The mind, that here is radiant, on the earth
Is wrapt in mist. Look then if she may do
Below, what passeth her ability
When she is ta'en to heaven." By words like these
Admonish'd, I the question urged no more;
And of the spirit humbly sued alone
To instruct me of its state. "'Twixt either shore[2]
Of Italy, nor distant from thy land,
A stony ridge[3] ariseth; in such sort,
The thunder doth not lift his voice so high.
They call it Catria:[4] at whose foot, a cell
Is sacred to the lonely Eremite;
For worship set apart and holy rites."
A third time thus it spake; then added: "There
So firmly to God's service I adhered,
That with no costlier viands than the juice
Of olives, easily I pass'd the heats

[1] *Not the soul.*] The particular ends of Providence being concealed from the very angels themselves.

[2] *'Twixt either shore.*] Between the Adriatic gulf and the Mediterranean sea.

[3] *A stony ridge.*] A part of the Apennine. Gibbo is literally a "hunch". Thus Archilochus calls the island of Thasus, ὄνου ῥάχις. See Gaisford's Poetæ Minores Græci, t. i. p. 298.

[4] *Catria.*] [One of the highest peaks of the Apennines, on the borders of Umbria and the Marches, between Gubbio and Pergola.]

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Of summer and the winter frosts ; content
In heaven-ward musings. Rich were the returns
And fertile, which that cloister once was used
To render to these heavens : now 'tis fallen
Into a waste so empty, that ere long
Detection must lay bare its vanity.
Pietro Damiano [1] there was I y-clept :
Pietro the sinner, when before I dwelt,
Beside the Adriatic,[2] in the house
Of our blest Lady. Near upon my close
Of mortal life, through much importuning
I was constrained to wear the hat,[3] that still
From bad to worse it shifted.—Cephas [4] came ;
He came, who was the Holy Spirit's vessel ; [5]
Barefoot and lean ; eating their bread, as chanced,

1 *Pietro Damiano.*] "S. Pietro Damiano obtained a great and well-merited reputation, by the pains he took to correct the abuses among the clergy. Ravenna is supposed to have been the place of his birth, about 1007. He was employed in several important missions, and rewarded by Stephen IX. with the dignity of cardinal, and the bishopric of Ostia, to which, however, he preferred his former retreat in the monastery of Fonte Avellana, and prevailed on Alexander II. to permit him to retire thither. Yet he did not long continue in this seclusion, before he was sent on other embassies. He died at Faenza in 1072. His letters throw much light on the obscure history of these times. Besides them, he has left several treatises on sacred and ecclesiastical subjects." His eloquence is worthy of a better age." *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* tom. iii. lib. iv. cap. ii. He is mentioned by Petrarch, de Vita Solit. lib. ii. § iii. cap. xvii. "Siquidem statum illum, pompasque sæculi suis contribulibus linquens, ipse Italiæ medio, ad sinistrum Apennini latus, quietissimam solitudinem, de qua multa conscripsit, et quæ vetus adhuc fontis Avellanæ nomen servat, perituris honoribus preferendam duxit, ubi non minus gloriose postmodum latuit quam innotuerat primum Romæ, nec dedecori illi fuit alti verticis rutilum decus squalenti cilicio permutasse." *Petrarchæ Opera, Basil.* 1571. p. 266.

2 *Beside the Adriatic.*] Some editions and manuscripts have "fu," instead of "fui". According to the former of these readings, S. Pietro Damiano is made to distinguish himself from S. Pietro degli Onesti, surnamed "Il Peccator," founder of the monastery of S. Maria del Porto, on the Adriatic coast, near Ravenna, who died 1119, at about eighty years of age.

3 *The hat.*] The cardinal's hat.

4 *Cephas.*] St. Peter.

5 *The Holy Spirit's vessel.*] St. Paul. See Hell, Canto ii. 30.

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At the first table. Modern Shepherds need
Those who on either hand may prop and lead them,
So burly are they grown ; and from behind,
Others to hoist them. Down the palfrey's sides
Spread their broad mantles, so as both the beasts
Are cover'd with one skin. O patience! thou
That look'st on this, and dost endure so long."
I at those accents saw the splendours down
From step to step alight, and wheel, and wax,
Each circuiting, more beautiful. Round this[1]
They came, and stay'd them ; utter'd then a shout
So loud, it hath no likeness here : nor I
Wist what it spake, so deafening was the thunder.

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT

He beholds many other spirits of the devout and contemplative; and amongst these is addressed by Saint Benedict, who, after disclosing his own name and the names of certain of his companions in bliss, replies to the request made by our Poet that he might look on the form of the saint, without that covering of splendour, which then invested it; and then proceeds, lastly, to inveigh against the corruption of the monks. Next Dante mounts with his heavenly conductress to the eighth heaven, or that of the fixed stars, which he enters at the constellation of the Twins; and thence looking back, reviews all the space he has past between his present station and the earth.

ASTOUNDED, to the guardian of my steps
I turn'd me, like the child, who always runs
Thither for succour, where he trusteth most :

[1] *Round this.*] Round the spirit of Pietro Damiano.

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And she was like the mother,[1] who her son
Beholding pale and breathless, with her voice
Soothes him, and he is cheer'd; for thus she spake,
Soothing me: "Know'st not thou, thou art in heaven?
And know'st not thou, whatever is in heaven,
Is holy; and that nothing there is done,
But is done zealously and well? Deem now,
What change in thee the song, and what my smile
Had wrought, since thus the shout had power to move thee;
In which, couldst thou have understood their prayers,
The vengeance[2] were already known to thee,
Which thou must witness ere thy mortal hour.
The sword of heaven is not in haste to smite,
Nor yet doth linger; save unto his seeming,
Who, in desire or fear, doth look for it.
But elsewhere now I bid thee turn thy view;
So shalt thou many a famous spirit behold."
Mine eyes directing, as she will'd, I saw
A hundred little spheres, that fairer grew
By interchange of splendour. I remain'd,
As one, who fearful of o'er-much presuming,
Abates in him the keenness of desire,
Nor dares to question; when, amid those pearls,
One largest and most lustrous onward drew,
That it might yield contentment to my wish;
And, from within it, these the sounds I heard.
"If thou, like me, beheld'st the charity

[1] *Like the mother.*]

Come la madre, che 'l figliuol ascolta
Dietro a se piangner, si volge, ed aspetta,
Poi il prende per mano e da la volta.
Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, lib. iii. cap. 21.

[2] *The vengeance.*] Beatrice, it is supposed, intimates the approaching fate of Boniface VIII. See Purgatory, Canto xx. 86.

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That burns amongst us ; what thy mind conceives,
Were utter'd. But that, ere the lofty bound
Thou reach, expectance may not weary thee ;
I will make answer even to the thought,
Which thou hast such respect of. In old days,
That mountain, at whose side Cassino [1] rests,
Was, on its height, frequented by a race [2]
Deceived and ill-disposed : and I it was,[3]
Who thither carried first the name of Him,
Who brought the soul-subliming truth to man.
And such a speeding grace shone over me,
That from their impious worship I reclaim'd
The dwellers round about, who with the world
Were in delusion lost. These other flames,
The spirits of men contemplative, were all
Enliven'd by that warmth, whose kindly force
Gives birth to flowers and fruits of holiness.

[1] *Cassino.*] A castle in the Terra di Lavoro. "The learned Benedictine, D. Angelo della Noce, in his notes on the chronicle of the monastery of Cassino (Not. cxi.), corrects the error of Cluverius and Eftenus, who describe Cassino as situated in the same place where the monastery now is; at the same time commending the veracity of our author in this passage, which places Cassino on the side of the mountain, and points out the monastery founded by Saint Benedict on its summit." *Lombardi.*

[2] *Frequented by a race.*] Lombardi here cites an apposite passage from the writings of Pope Saint Gregory. "Mons tria millia, etc." *Dialog.* lib. ii. cap. 8. "The mountain rising for the space of three miles stretches its top towards the sky, where was a very ancient temple, in which, after the manner of the old heathens, Apollo was worshiped by the foolish rustics. On every side, groves had sprung up in honour of the false gods; and in these, the mad multitude of unbelievers still tended on their unhallowed sacrifices. There then the man of God (Saint Benedict) arriving, beat in pieces the idols; overturned the altar; cut down the groves; and, in the very temple of Apollo, built the shrine of Saint Martin, placing that of Saint John where the altar of Apollo had stood; and, by his continual preaching, called the multitude that dwelt round about, to the true faith."

[3] *I it was.*] "A new order of monks, which in a manner absorbed all the others that were established in the west, was instituted, A.D. 529, by Benedict of Nursia, a man of piety and reputation for the age he lived in." *Maclaine's Mosheim, Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. cent. vi. p. ii. c. ii. § 6.

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Here is Macarius ;[1] Romoaldo[2] here ;
And here my brethren, who their steps refrain'd
Within the cloisters, and held firm their heart."
I answering thus : "Thy gentle words and kind,
And this the cheerful semblance I behold,
Not unobservant, beaming in ye all,
Have raised assurance in me ; wakening it
Full-blossom'd in my bosom, as a rose
Before the sun, when the consummate flower
Has spread to utmost amplitude. Of thee
Therefore intreat I, father, to declare
If I may gain such favour, as to gaze
Upon thine image by no covering veil'd."
"Brother!" he thus rejoin'd, "in the last sphere[3]
Expect completion of thy lofty aim :
For there on each desire completion waits,
And there on mine ; where every aim is found
Perfect, entire, and for fulfilment ripe.
There all things are as they have ever been :
For space is none to bound ; nor pole divides
Our ladder reaches even to that clime ;
And so, at giddy distance, mocks thy view.
Thither the patriarch Jacob[4] saw it stretch

[1] *Macarius.*] There are two of this name enumerated by Mosheim among the Greek theologians of the fourth century, vol. i. cent. iv. p. xi. chap. ii. § 9. In the following chapter, § 10, it is said, "Macarius, an Egyptian monk, undoubtedly deserves the first rank among the practical writers of this time, as his works displayed, some few things excepted, the brightest and most lovely portraiture of sanctity and virtue".

[2] *Romoaldo.*] S. Romoaldo, a native of Ravenna, and the founder of the order of Camaldoli, died in 1027. He was the author of a commentary on the Psalms.

[3] *In the last sphere.*] The Empyrean, where he afterwards sees Saint Benedict, Canto xxxii. 30. Beatified spirits, though they have different heavens allotted them, have all their seat in that higher sphere.

[4] *The patriarch Jacob.*] "And he dreamed, and behold, a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven : and behold

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Its topmost round ; when it appear'd to him
With angels laden. But to mount it now
None lifts his foot from earth : and hence my rule
Is left a profitless stain upon the leaves ;
The walls, for abbey rear'd, turn'd into dens ;
The cowls, to sacks choak'd up with musty meal.
Foul usury doth not more lift itself
Against God's pleasure, than that fruit, which makes
The hearts of monks so wanton : for whate'er
Is in the church's keeping, all pertains
To such, as sue for heaven's sweet sake ; and not
To those, who in respect of kindred claim,
Or on more vile allowance. Mortal flesh
Is grown so dainty, good beginnings last not
From the oak's birth unto the acorn's setting.
His convent Peter founded without gold
Or silver ; I, with prayers and fasting, mine ;
And Francis, his in meek humility.
And if thou note the point, whence each proceeds,
Then look what it hath err'd to ; thou shalt find
The white grown murky. Jordan was turn'd back :
And a less wonder, than the refluent sea,
May, at God's pleasure, work amendment here."
So saying, to his assembly back he drew :
And they together cluster'd into one ;
Then all roll'd upward, like an eddying wind.
The sweet dame beckon'd me to follow them :
And, by that influence only, so prevail'd
Over my nature, that no natural motion,

the angels of God ascending and descending on it." *Gen.* xxviii. 12. So Milton, P. L. b. iii. 510.

> The stairs were such, as whereon Jacob saw
> Angels ascending and descending, bands
> Of guardians bright.

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Ascending or descending here below,
Had, as I mounted, with my pennon vied.
So, reader, as my hope is to return
Unto the holy triumph, for the which
I oft-times wail my sins, and smite my breast ;
Thou hadst been longer drawing out and thrusting
Thy finger in the fire, than I was, ere
The sign,[1] that followeth Taurus, I beheld,
And enter'd its precinct. O glorious stars !
O light impregnate with exceeding virtue !
To whom whate'er of genius lifteth me
Above the vulgar, grateful I refer ;
With ye the parent[2] of all mortal life
Arose and set, when I did first inhale
The Tuscan air ; and afterward, when grace
Vouchsafed me entrance to the lofty wheel[3]
That in its orb impels ye, fate decreed
My passage at your clime. To you my soul
Devoutly sighs, for virtue, even now,
To meet the hard emprize that draws me on.
"Thou art so near the sum of blessedness,"
Said Beatrice, "that behoves thy ken
Be vigilant and clear. And, to this end,
Or ever thou advance thee further, hence
Look downward, and contemplate, what a world
Already stretch'd under our feet there lies :
So as thy heart may, in its blithest mood,
Present itself to the triumphal throng,
Which, through the ethereal concave, comes rejoicing."

[1] *The sign.*] The constellation of Gemini.
[2] *The parent.*] The sun was in the constellation of the Twins at the time of Dante's birth.
[3] *The lofty wheel.*] The eighth heaven; that, of the fixed stars.

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I straight obey'd ; and with mine eye return'd
Through all the seven spheres ; and saw this globe [1]
So pitiful of semblance, that perforce
It moved my smiles : and him in truth I hold
For wisest, who esteems it least ; whose thoughts
Elsewhere are fix'd, him worthiest call and best.
I saw the daughter of Latona shine
Without the shadow,[2] whereof late I deem'd
That dense and rare were cause. Here I sustain'd
The visage, Hyperion, of thy son ;[3]
And mark'd, how near him with their circles, round
Move Maia and Dione ;[4] here discern'd
Jove's tempering 'twixt his sire and son ;[5] and hence,
Their changes and their various aspects,
Distinctly scann'd. Nor might I not descry
Of all the seven, how bulky each, how swift ;
Nor, of their several distances, not learn.
This petty area (o'er the which we stride
So fiercely), as along the eternal Twins
I wound my way, appear'd before me all,
Forth from the havens stretch'd unto the hills.
Then, to the beauteous eyes, mine eyes return'd.

[1] *This globe.*] So Chaucer, Troilus and Cresseide, b. v.

And down from thence fast he gan avise
This little spot of earth, that with the sea
Embraced is, and fully gan despise
This wretched world.

All the world as to mine eye
No more seemed than a prike. *Temple of Fame*, b. ii.

Compare Cicero, Somn. Scip. "Jam ipsa terra ita mihi parva visa est," etc. Lucan, Phars. lib. ix. 11, and Tasso, G. L. c. xiv. st. 9, 10, 11.

[2] *Without the shadow.*] See Canto ii. 71.

[3] *Of thy son.*] The sun.

[4] *Maia and Dione.*] The planets Mercury and Venus: Dione being the mother of the latter, and Maia of the former deity.

[5] *'Twixt his sire and son.*] Betwixt Saturn and Mars.

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CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT

He sees Christ triumphing with his church. The Saviour ascends, followed by his virgin Mother. The others remain with Saint Peter.

E'EN as the bird, who midst the leafy bower
Has, in her nest, sat darkling through the night,
With her sweet brood; impatient to descry
Their wished looks, and to bring home their food,
In the fond quest unconscious of her toil:
She, of the time prevenient, on the spray,
That overhangs their couch, with wakeful gaze
Expects the sun; nor ever, till the dawn,
Removeth from the east her eager ken:
So stood the dame erect, and bent her glance
Wistfully on that region,[1] where the sun
Abateth most his speed; that, seeing her
Suspense and wondering, I became as one,
In whom desire is waken'd, and the hope
Of somewhat new to come fills with delight.
Short space ensued; I was not held, I say,
Long in expectance, when I saw the heaven
Wax more and more resplendent; and, "Behold,"
Cried Beatrice, "the triumphal hosts
Of Christ, and all the harvest gather'd in,
Made ripe by these revolving spheres." Meseem'd,
That, while she spake, her image all did burn;
And in her eyes such fulness was of joy,
As I am fain to pass unconstrued by.

[1] *That region.*] Towards the south, where the course of the sun appears less rapid, than when he is in the east or the west.

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As in the calm full moon, when Trivia[1] smiles,
In peerless beauty, 'mid the eternal nymphs,[2]
That paint through all its gulfs the blue profound;
In bright pre-eminence so saw I there
O'er million lamps a sun, from whom all drew
Their radiance, as from ours the starry train:
And, through the living light, so lustrous glow'd
The substance, that my ken endured it not.
O Beatrice! sweet and precious guide,
Who cheer'd me with her comfortable words:
"Against the virtue, that o'erpowereth thee,
Avails not to resist. Here is the Might,[3]
And here the Wisdom, which did open lay
The path, that had been yearned for so long,
Betwixt the heaven and earth." Like to the fire,
That, in a cloud imprison'd, doth break out
Expansive, so that from its womb enlarged,
It falleth against nature to the ground;
Thus, in that heavenly banqueting, my soul
Outgrew herself; and, in the transport lost,
Holds now remembrance none of what she was.

[1] *Trivia.*] A name of Diana.

[2] *The eternal nymphs.*] The stars.

Σελάνα τε κατ' αἰθερὰ,
Λαμπάδ', ἵν' ὠκυθόαι νύμφαι
Ἱππεύουσι δί' ὀρφναίας.
Eurip. Supp. 995. Edit. Barnes.

Those starry nymphs, which dance about the pole.
Drummond, Sonnet.

Musgrave and Herman would dismiss the word νύμφαι, "nymphs," from this passage in Euripides; but the use of it by our Author in the text, tends to prove that it is the genuine reading: and it is thus that poets of the most distant ages, and without any knowledge of each other's writings (for we can scarcely imagine Dante to have read the plays of Euripides), may often protect one another against the verbal critics. Drummond, I believe, had learning enough to be indebted to either of his predecessors. Expressions somewhat similar, in Theocritus and Tibullus, are observed by Markland.

[3] *The Might.*] Our Saviour.

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"Ope thou thine eyes, and mark me: thou
hast seen
Things, that empower thee to sustain my smile."
I was as one, when a forgotten dream [1]
Doth come across him, and he strives in vain
To shape it in his fantasy again:
Whenas that gracious boon was proffer'd me,
Which never may be cancel'd from the book
Wherein the past is written. Now were all
Those tongues to sound, that have, on sweetest milk
Of Polyhymnia and her sisters, fed
And fatten'd; not with all their help to boot,
Unto the thousandth parcel of the truth,
My song might shadow forth that saintly smile,
How merely, in her saintly looks, it wrought.
And, with such figuring of Paradise,
The sacred strain must leap, like one that meets
A sudden interruption to his road.
But he, who thinks how ponderous the theme,
And that 'tis laid upon a mortal shoulder,
May pardon, if it tremble with the burden.
The track, our venturous keel must furrow, brooks
No unribb'd pinnace, no self-sparing pilot.
"Why doth my face," said Beatrice, "thus
Enamour thee, as that thou dost not turn
Unto the beautiful garden, blossoming
Beneath the rays of Christ? Here is the rose,[2]
Wherein the Word Divine was made incarnate;
And here the lilies,[3] by whose odour known

[1] *A forgotten dream.*] —— You might as well
Hunt half a day for a forgotten dream.
Wordsworth, Hart-Leap Well.

[2] *The rose.*] The Virgin Mary, who, says Lombardi, is termed by the church, Rosa Mystica. "I was exalted like a palm-tree in Engaddi, and as a rose-plant in Jericho." *Ecclesiasticus*, xxiv. 14.

[3] *The lilies.*] The Apostles. "And give ye a sweet savour as frankincense, and flourish as a lily." *Ecclesiasticus*, xxxix. 14.

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The way of life was follow'd." Prompt I heard
Her bidding, and encounter'd once again
The strife of aching vision. As, erewhile,
Through glance of sun-light, stream'd through broken cloud,
Mine eyes a flower-besprinkled mead have seen;
Though veil'd themselves in shade: so saw I there
Legions of splendours, on whom burning rays
Shed lightnings from above; yet saw I not
The fountain whence they flow'd. O gracious virtue!
Thou, whose broad stamp is on them, higher up
Thou didst exalt thy glory,[1] to give room
To my o'erlabour'd sight; when at the name
Of that fair flower,[2] whom duly I invoke
Both morn and eve, my soul with all her might
Collected, on the goodliest ardour fix'd.
And, as the bright dimensions of the star
In heaven excelling, as once here on earth,
Were, in my eye-balls livelily pourtray'd;
Lo! from within the sky a cresset[3] fell,
Circling in fashion of a diadem;
And girt the star; and, hovering, round it wheel'd.
Whatever melody sounds sweetest here,
And draws the spirit most unto itself,
Might seem a rent cloud, when it grates the thunder;
Compared unto the sounding of that lyre,[4]
Wherewith the goodliest sapphire,[5] that inlays

[1] *Thou didst exalt thy glory.*] The divine light retired upwards, to render the eyes of Dante more capable of enduring the spectacle which now presented itself.
[2] —— *The name*
Of that fair flower.] The name of the Virgin.
[3] *A cresset.*] The angel Gabriel.
[4] *That lyre.*] By synecdoche, the lyre is put for the angel.
[5] *The goodliest sapphire.*] The Virgin.

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The floor of heaven, was crown'd. "Angelic Love
I am, who thus with hovering flight enwheel
The lofty rapture from that womb inspired,
Where our desire did dwell: and round thee so,
Lady of Heaven! will hover; long as thou
Thy Son shalt follow, and diviner joy
Shall from thy presence gild the highest sphere."
Such close was to the circling melody:
And, as it ended, all the other lights
Took up the strain, and echoed Mary's name.
The robe,[1] that with its regal folds enwraps
The world, and with the nearer breath of God
Doth burn and quiver, held so far retired
Its inner hem and skirting over us,
That yet no glimmer of its majesty
Had stream'd unto me: therefore were mine eyes
Unequal to pursue the crowned flame,[2]
That towering rose, and sought the seed[3] it bore.
And like to babe, that stretches forth its arms
For very eagerness toward the breast,
After the milk is taken; so outstretch'd
Their wavy summits all the fervent band,
Through zealous love to Mary: then, in view,
There halted; and "Regina Cœli"[4] sang
So sweetly, the delight hath left me never.
Oh! what o'erflowing plenty is up-piled
In those rich-laden coffers,[5] which below
Sow'd the good seed, whose harvest now they keep.

[1] *The robe.*] The ninth heaven, the primum mobile, that enfolds and moves the eight lower heavens.

[2] *The crowned flame.*] The Virgin, with the angel hovering over her.

[3] *The seed.*] Our Saviour.

[4] *Regina Cœli.*] "The beginning of an anthem, sung by the church at Easter, in honour of our Lady." *Volpi.*

[5] *Those rich-laden coffers.*] Those spirits, who, having sown the seed of good works on earth, now contain the fruit of their pious endeavours.

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Here are the treasures tasted, that with tears
Were in the Babylonian exile[1] won,
When gold had fail'd them. Here, in synod high
Of ancient council with the new convened,
Under the Son of Mary and of God,
Victorious he[2] his mighty triumph holds,
To whom the keys of glory were assign'd.

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT

Saint Peter examines Dante touching Faith, and is contented with his answers.

"O YE! in chosen fellowship advanced
To the great supper of the blessed Lamb,
Whereon who feeds hath every wish fulfill'd;
If to this man through God's grace be vouchsafed
Foretaste of that, which from your table falls,
Or ever death his fated term prescribe;
Be ye not heedless of his urgent will:
But may some influence of your sacred dews
Sprinkle him. Of the fount ye alway drink,
Whence flows what most he craves." Beatrice spake;
And the rejoicing spirits, like to spheres
On firm-set poles revolving, trail'd a blaze
Of comet splendour: and as wheels, that wind
Their circles in the horologe, so work
The stated rounds, that to the observant eye

[1] *In the Babylonian exile.*] During their abode in this world.
[2] *He.*] St. Peter, with the other holy men of the Old and New Testament.

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The first seems still, and as it flew, the last ;
E'en thus their carols[1] weaving variously,
They, by the measure paced, or swift, or slow,
Made me to rate the riches[2] of their joy.
From that,[3] which I did note in beauty most
Excelling, saw I issue forth a flame
So bright, as none was left more goodly there.
Round Beatrice thrice it wheel'd about,
With so divine a song, that fancy's ear
Records it not ; and the pen passeth on,
And leaves a blank : for that our mortal speech,
Nor e'en the inward shaping of the brain,
Hath colours fine enough to trace such folds.[4]

1 *Their carols.*] Carole. The annotator on the Monte Casino MS. observes, "carolæ dicuntur tripudium quoddam quod fit saliendo, ut Napolitani faciunt et dicunt". The word had also that signification, which is now the only one that common use attaches to it. "Au tiers jour il s'en partit" (the king of Cyprus coming from Canterbury to Edward III.), "et chevaucha le chemin de Londres ; et fit tant qu'il vint a Altem ; ou le roi se tenoit, et grand foison de Seigneurs appareillés pour le recevoir. Ce fut un dimenche a heure de relevee qu'il vint là. Si eut entre celle heure et le souper grans danses et grans karolles. Là etoit le jeune Seigneur de Coucy qui s'efforcoit de bien danser et de bien chanter quand son tour venoit, etc." *Froissart*, vol. i. cap. 219. Fol. edit. 1559.

These folke, of which I tell you so,
Upon a karole wenten tho :
A ladie karoled hem, that hight
Gladnesse, blissfull, and light,
Well could she sing and lustely.
Chaucer, Romaunt of the Rose, Edit. 1602, fol. 112.

I saw her daunce so comely,
Carol and sing so sweetly.
Chaucer, The Dreame, or Booke of the Duchesse, fol. 231.

2 *The riches.*] Lombardi here reads with the Nidobeatina edition, "dalla richezza," instead of "della ricchezza," and construes it of the *amplitude* of the circles, according to which the Poet estimated their greater or less degree of velocity. I have followed the other commentators.

3 *From that.*] Saint Peter.

4 *Such folds.*] Pindar has the same bold image :

ὕμνων πτυχαῖς. O. l. 170.

which both the Scholiast and Heyne, I think erroneously, understand of the return of the strophes. Since this note was written, I have found the same interpretation of Pindar's expression as that I had

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"O saintly sister mine! thy prayer devout
Is with so vehement affection urged,
Thou dost unbind me from that beauteous sphere."
Such were the accents towards my lady breathed
From that blest ardour, soon as it was stay'd;
To whom she thus: "O everlasting light
Of him, within whose mighty grasp our Lord
Did leave the keys, which of this wondrous bliss
He bare below! tent [1] this man as thou wilt,
With lighter probe or deep, touching the faith,
By the which thou didst on the billows walk.
If he in love, in hope, and in belief,
Be stedfast, is not hid from thee: for thou
Hast there thy ken, where all things are beheld
In liveliest portraiture. But since true faith
Has peopled this fair realm with citizens;
Meet is, that to exalt its glory more,
Thou, in his audience, shouldst thereof discourse."
Like to the bachelor, who arms himself,
And speaks not, till the master have proposed
The question, to approve,[2] and not to end it;
So I, in silence, arm'd me, while she spake,
Summoning up each argument to aid;
As was behoveful for such questioner,

adopted, in the manuscript notes on that poet collected by Mr. St. Amand, and preserved in the Bodleian Library, No. 42. "Notandum: maximum decus vestimenti antiquitus *sinus* existimabantur, ita ut vix unquam a poetis tam Græcis quam Latinis vestis pulchra describatur sine hoc adjuncto."

[1] *Tent.*] Tenta. The word "tent," *try*, is used by our old writers, who, I think, usually spell it "taint"; as Massinger, Parliament of Love, act iv. sc. 3. "Do not fear, I have a staff to taint, and bravely".

[2] *To approve.*] "Per approbarla." Landino has "aiutarla". "The bachelor, or disputant in the school, arms or prepares himself to discuss the question proposed by the master, whose business it is to terminate it." Such is Vellutello's interpretation; and it has the merit of being, at least, more intelligible than Lombardi's, who, without reason, accuses the other commentators, except Venturi (whose explanation he rejects), of passing over the difficulty.

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And such profession : "As good Christian ought,
Declare thee, what is faith?" Whereat I raised
My forehead to the light, whence this had breathed ;
Then turn'd to Beatrice ; and in her looks
Approval met, that from their inmost fount
I should unlock the waters. "May the grace,
That giveth me the captain of the church
For confessor," said I, "vouchsafe to me
Apt utterance for my thoughts ;" then added : "Sire !
E'en as set down by the unerring style
Of thy dear brother, who with thee conspired
To bring Rome in unto the way of life,
Faith [1] of things hoped is substance, and the proof
Of things not seen ; and herein doth consist
Methinks its essence."—"Rightly hast thou deem'd,"
Was answer'd ; "if thou well discern, why first
He hath defined it substance, and then proof."
"The deep things," I replied, "which here I scan
Distinctly, are below from mortal eye
So hidden, they have in belief alone
Their being ; on which credence, hope sublime
Is built : and, therefore substance, it intends.
And inasmuch as we must needs infer
From such belief our reasoning, all respect
To other view excluded ; hence of proof
The intention is derived." Forthwith I heard :
"If thus, whate'er by learning men attain,

[1] *Faith.*] Hebrews, xi. 1. So Marino, in one of his sonnets, which he calls Divozioni :

Fede è sustanza di sperate cose,
E delle non visibili argomento.

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Were understood; the sophist would want room
To exercise his wit." So breathed the flame
Of love; then added: "Current[1] is the coin
Thou utter'st, both in weight and in alloy.
But tell me, if thou hast it in thy purse."
"Even so glittering and so round," said I,
"I not a whit misdoubt of its assay."
Next issued[2] from the deep-imbosom'd splendour:
"Say, whence the costly jewel, on the which
Is founded every virtue, came to thee."
"The flood," I answer'd, "from the Spirit of God
Rain'd down upon the ancient bond and new,[3]—
Here is the reasoning, that convinceth me

[1] *Current.*] "The answer thou hast made, is right: but let me know if thy inward persuasion be conformable to thy profession."

[2] *Next issued.*] "We find that the more men have been acquainted with the practice of Christianity, the greater evidence they have had of the truth of it, and been more fully and rationally persuaded of it. To such I grant there are such powerful evidences of the truth of the doctrine of Christ by the effectual workings of the Spirit of God upon their souls, that all other arguments, as to their own satisfaction, may fall short of these. As to which, those verses of the poet Dantes, rendered into Latin by F. S., are very pertinent and significant; for when he had introduced the Apostle Peter, asking him what it was which his faith was founded on, he answers:—

Deinde exivit ex luce profunda
Quæ illic splendebat pretiosa gemma,
Super quam omnis virtus fundatur.

i.e. That God was pleased by immediate revelation of himself, to discover that divine truth to the world whereon our faith doth stand as on its sure foundation; but when the Apostle goes on to enquire how he knew this at first came from God, his answer to that is:—

——— larga pluvia
Spiritus Sancti, quæ est diffusa
Super veteres et super novas membranas
Est syllogismus ille qui eam mihi conclusit
Adeo acute, ut præ illa demonstratione
Omnis demonstratio alia mihi videatur obtusa.

i.e. That the Spirit of God doth so fully discover itself both in the Old and New Testament, that all other arguments are but dull and heavy if compared with this." *Stillingfleet, Or. Sa.* b. ii. chap. ix. sect. xix. § 4. The reader will perceive that our learned divine has made an error in his quotation of this passage.

[3] *The ancient bond and new.*] The Old and New Testament.

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So feelingly, each argument beside
Seems blunt, and forceless, in comparison."
Then heard I: "Wherefore holdest thou that each,
The elder proposition and the new,
Which so persuade thee, are the voice of heaven?"
"The works, that follow'd, evidence their truth;"
I answer'd: "Nature did not make for these
The iron hot, or on her anvil mold them."
"Who voucheth to thee of the works themselves,"
Was the reply, "that they in very deed
Are that they purport? None hath sworn so to thee."
"That all the world,"[1] said I, "should have been turn'd

[1] *That all the world.*] "We cannot conceive how the world should be at first induced to believe without manifest and uncontrouled miracles. For as Chrysostom speaks, εἰ σημείων χωρὶς ἔπεισαν, πολλῷ μεῖζον τὸ θαῦμα φαίνεται. It was the greatest miracle of all, if the world shou'd believe without miracles. Which the poet Dantes hath well expressed in the twenty-fourth Canto of Paradise. For when the Apostle is there brought in, asking the Poet upon what account he took the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God; his answer is:—

Probatio quæ verum hoc mihi recludit,
Sunt opera, quæ secuta sunt, ad quæ Natura
Non candefecit ferrum unquam aut percussit incudem.

i.e. The evidence of that is the Divine Power of miracles which was in those who deliver'd those things to the world. And when the Apostle catechiseth him further, how he knew those miracles were such as they pretended to be, *viz.* that they were true and divine; his answer is:—

Si orbis terræ sese convertit ad Christianismum
Inquiebam ego, sine miraculis; hoc unum
Est tale, ut reliqua non sint ejus centesima pars.

i.e. If the world shou'd be converted to the Christian faith without miracles, this would be so great a miracle, that others were not to be compared with it. I conclude this, then, with that known saying of St. Austin, Quisquis adhuc prodigia, ut credat, inquiret, magnum est ipse prodigium qui mundo credente non credit: He that seeks for miracles still to induce him to faith, when the world is converted to the Christian faith, he needs not seek for prodigies abroad; he wants only a looking-glass to discover one. For, as he goes on, Unde temporibus eruditis, et omne quod fieri non potest respuentibus, sine ullis miraculis nimium mirabiliter incredibilia credidit mundus? Whence came it to pass that in so learned and wary an

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To Christian, and no miracle been wrought,
Would in itself be such a miracle,
The rest were not an hundredth part so great.
E'en thou went'st forth in poverty and hunger
To set the goodly plant, that, from the vine
It once was, now is grown unsightly bramble."
That ended, through the high celestial court
Resounded all the spheres, "Praise we one God!"
In song of most unearthly melody.
And when that Worthy[1] thus, from branch to branch,
Examining, had led me, that we now
Approach'd the topmost bough; he straight resumed:
"The grace, that holds sweet dalliance with thy soul,
So far discreetly hath thy lips unclosed;
That, whatsoe'er has past them, I commend.
Behoves thee to express, what thou believest,
The next; and, whereon, thy belief hath grown."
"O saintly sire and spirit!" I began,
"Who seest that, which thou didst so believe,
As to outstrip[2] feet younger than thine own,
Toward the sepulchre; thy will is here,
That I the tenour of my creed unfold;

age as that was which the Apostles preach'd in, the world without miracles should be brought to believe things so strangely incredible as those were which Christ and his Apostles preach'd." *Stillingfleet, Or. Sa.* b. ii. chap. x. sect. v. § 1. Donne, in his Sermons (Vol. ii. p. 215, fol. edit.), quotes a similar passage from Augustine, and applies it to the demand for miracles, made by Roman Catholics on Protestants.

[1] *That Worthy.*] Quel Baron. In the next Canto, St. James is called "Barone". So in Boccaccio, G. vi. N. 10, we find "Baron Messer Santo Antonio".

[2] *As to outstrip.*] Venturi insists that the Poet has here "made a slip"; for that John came first to the sepulchre, though Peter was the first to enter it. But let Dante have leave to explain his own meaning, in a passage from his third book De Monarchiâ: "Dicit etiam Johannes ipsum (scilicit Petrum) infroiisse *subito*, cum venit in monumentum, videns alium discipulum cunctantem ad ostium". Cap. 9.

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And thou, the cause of it, hast likewise ask'd.
And I reply : I in one God believe ;
One sole eternal Godhead, of whose love
All heaven is moved, himself unmoved the while.
Nor demonstration physical alone,
Or more intelligential and abstruse,
Persuades me to this faith : but from that truth
It cometh to me rather, which is shed
Through Moses ; the rapt Prophets ; and the Psalms ;
The Gospel ; and what ye yourselves did write,
When ye were gifted of the Holy Ghost.
In three eternal Persons I believe ;
Essence threefold and one ; mysterious league
Of union absolute, which, many a time,
The word of gospel lore upon my mind
Imprints : and from this germ, this firstling spark
The lively flame dilates ; and, like heaven's star,
Doth glitter in me." As the master hears,
Well pleased, and then enfoldeth in his arms
The servant, who hath joyful tidings brought,
And having told the errand keeps his peace ;
Thus benediction uttering with song,
Soon as my peace I held, compass'd me thrice
The apostolic radiance, whose behest
Had oped my lips : so well their answer pleased

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CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT

Saint James questions our Poet concerning Hope. Next Saint John appears; and, on perceiving that Dante looks intently on him, informs him that he, Saint John, had left his body resolved into earth, upon the earth; and that Christ and the Virgin alone had come with their bodies into heaven.

If e'er the sacred poem, that hath made
Both heaven and earth copartners in its toil,
And with lean abstinence, through many a year,
Faded my brow, be destined to prevail
Over the cruelty, which bars me forth
Of the fair sheep-fold,[1] where, a sleeping lamb,
The wolves set on and fain had worried me;
With other voice, and fleece of other grain,
I shall forthwith return; and, standing up
At my baptismal font, shall claim the wreath
Due to the poet's temples: for I there
First enter'd on the faith, which maketh souls
Acceptable to God: and, for its sake,[2]
Peter had then circled my forehead thus.

Next from the squadron, whence had issued forth
The first fruit of Christ's vicars on the earth,
Toward us moved a light, at view whereof
My Lady, full of gladness, spake to me:
"Lo! lo! behold the peer of mickle might,
That makes Galicia throng'd with visitants."[3]

[1] *The fair sheep-fold.*] Florence, whence he was banished.

[2] *For its sake.*] For the sake of that faith.

[3] *Galicia throng'd with visitants.*] See Mariana, Hist. lib. xi. cap. xiii. "En el tiempo," etc. "At the time that the sepulchre of the apostle St. James was discovered, the devotion for that place extended itself not only over all Spain, but even round about to foreign nations. Multitudes from all parts of the world came to visit it. Many others were deterred by the difficulty of the journey,

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As when the ring-dove by his mate alights ;
In circles, each about the other wheels,
And, murmuring, cooes his fondness : thus saw I
One, of the other [1] great and glorious prince,
With kindly greeting, hail'd ; extolling, both,
Their heavenly banqueting : but when an end
Was to their gratulation, silent, each,
Before me sat they down, so burning bright,
I could not look upon them. Smiling then,
Beatrice spake : "O life in glory shrined !
Who [2] didst the largess [3] of our kingly court

by the roughness and barrenness of those parts, and by the incursions of the Moors, who made captives many of the pilgrims.—The canons of St. Eloy, afterwards (the precise time is not known), with a desire of remedying these evils, built, in many places, along the whole road, which reached as far as to France, hospitals for the reception of the pilgrims." In the Convito (ii. 15) we find "la galassia, etc." "the galaxy, that is, the white circle which the common people call the way of St. James"; on which Biscioni remarks: "The common people formerly considered the milky way as a sign by night to pilgrims, who were going to St. James of Galicia; and this perhaps arose from the resemblance of the word galaxy to Galicia. I have often," he adds, "heard women and peasants call it the Roman road," "la strada di Roma".

Lo there (quod he) cast up thine eye,
Se yondir, lo ! the Galaxie,
The whiche men clepe the milky way,
For it is white, and some perfay,
Ycallin it han Watlynge Strete.
Chaucer, The House of Fame, b. ii.

[1] *One, of the other.*] Saint Peter and Saint James.

[2] *Who.*] The Epistle of St. James is here attributed to the elder apostle of that name, whose shrine was at Compostella, in Galicia. Which of the two was the author of it, is yet doubtful. The learned and candid Michaelis contends very forcibly for its having been written by James the Elder. Lardner rejects that opinion as absurd: while Benson argues against it, but is well answered by Michaelis, who, after all, is obliged to leave the question undecided. See his Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Dr. Marsh, ed. Cambridge, 1793, vol. iv. cap. xxvi. § 1, 2, 3. Mr. Horne supposes, that as the elder James "was put to death by Herod Agrippa, A.D. 44 (Acts xii.), it is evident that he was not the author of the epistle which bears the name of James, because it contains passages which refer to a later period, *viz.* v. 1—8, which intimates the then immediately approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and the subversion of the Jewish polity." *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, Ed. 1818, vol. ii. p. 600.

[3] *Largess.*] He appears to allude to the Epistle of James, chap. i. v. 5. "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth

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Set down with faithful pen ; let now thy voice,
Of hope the praises, in this height resound.
For well thou know'st, who figurest it as oft,[1]
As Jesus, to ye three, more brightly shone."
"Lift up thy head ; and be thou strong in trust :
For that, which hither from the mortal world
Arriveth, must be ripen'd in our beam."
Such cheering accents from the second flame[2]
Assured me ; and mine eyes I lifted up[3]
Unto the mountains, that had bow'd them late
With over-heavy burden. "Sith our Liege
Wills of his grace, that thou, or e'er thy death,
In the most secret council with his lords
Shouldst be confronted, so that having view'd
The glories of our court, thou mayst therewith
Thyself, and all who hear, invigorate
With hope, that leads to blissful end ; declare,
What is that hope ? how it doth flourish in thee ?
And whence thou hadst it ?" Thus, proceeding still,
The second light : and she, whose gentle love
My soaring pennons in that lofty flight
Escorted, thus preventing me, rejoin'd :

to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." Or, to v. 17: "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." Some editions, however, read "l' allegrezza," "joy," instead of "la larghezza".

[1] *As oft.*] Landino and Venturi, who read "Quanto," explain this, that the frequency with which James had commended the virtue of hope, was in proportion to the brightness in which Jesus had appeared at his transfiguration. Vellutello, who reads "Quante," supposes that James three times recommends patient hope in the last chapter of his Epistle; and that Jesus, as many times, showed his brightness to the three disciples; once when he cleansed the lepers (Luke, v.); again when he raised the daughter of Jaïrus (Mark, v.); and a third time when he was transfigured. As to Lombardi, who also reads "Quante," his construction of the passage seems to me scarcely intelligible.

[2] *The second flame.*] St. James.

[3] *I lifted up.*] "I looked up to the Apostles." "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help." *Psalm* cxxi. 1.

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"Among her sons, not one more full of hope,
Hath the church militant: so 'tis of him
Recorded in the sun, whose liberal orb
Enlighteneth all our tribe: and ere his term
Of warfare, hence permitted he is come,
From Egypt to Jerusalem,[1] to see.
The other points, both which[2] thou hast inquired,
Not for more knowledge, but that he may tell
How dear thou hold'st the virtue; these to him
Leave I: for he may answer thee with ease,
And without boasting, so God give him grace."
Like to the scholar, practised in his task,
Who, willing to give proof of diligence,
Seconds his teacher gladly; "Hope,"[3] said I,
"Is of the joy to come a sure expectance,
The effect of grace divine and merit preceding.
This light from many a star, visits my heart;
But flow'd to me, the first, from him who sang
The songs of the Supreme; himself supreme
Among his tuneful brethren. 'Let all hope
In thee,' so spake his anthem,[4] 'who have known
Thy name;' and, with my faith, who know not that?
From thee, the next, distilling from his spring,
In thine epistle, fell on me the drops

[1] *From Egypt to Jerusalem.*] From the lower world to heaven.
[2] *Both which.*] One point Beatrice has herself answered; "how that hope flourishes in him". The other two remain for Dante to resolve.
[3] *Hope.*] This is from the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus. "Est autem spes virtus, quâ spiritualia et æterna bona sperantur, id est cum fiduciâ expectantur. Est enim spes certa expectatio futuræ beatitudinis, veniens ex Dei gratiâ et ex meritis præcedentibus vel ipsam spem, quam naturâ præit charitas ut rem speratam, id est beatitudinem æternam. Sine meritis enim aliquid sperare non spes, sed præsumptio dici potest." *Pet. Lomb. Sent.* lib. iii. dist. 26, Ed. Bas. 1486, fol.
[4] *His anthem.*] "They that know thy name will put their trust in thee." *Psalm* ix. 10.

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So plenteously, that I on others shower
The influence of their dew." Whileas I spake,
A lamping, as of quick and volley'd lightning,
Within the bosom of that mighty sheen [1]
Play'd tremulous; then forth these accents breathed:
"Love for the virtue, which attended me
E'en to the palm, and issuing from the field,
Glows vigorous yet within me; and inspires
To ask of thee, whom also it delights,
What promise thou from hope, in chief, dost win."

"Both scriptures, new and ancient," I replied,
"Propose the mark (which even now I view)
For souls beloved of God. Isaias [2] saith,
'That, in their own land, each one must be clad
In twofold vesture;' and their proper land
Is this delicious life. In terms more full,
And clearer far, thy brother [3] hath set forth
This revelation to us, where he tells
Of the white raiment destined to the saints."
And, as the words were ending, from above,
"They hope in thee!" first heard we cried: whereto
Answer'd the carols all. Amidst them next,
A light of so clear amplitude emerged,
That winter's month [4] were but a single day,
Were such a crystal in the Cancer's sign.

[1] *That mighty sheen.*] The spirit of Saint James.
[2] *Isaias.*] "He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness." Chap. lxi. 10.
[3] *Thy brother.*] St. John in the Revelation, vii. 9.
[4] *Winter's month.*] "If a luminary, like that which now appeared, were to shine throughout the month following the winter solstice, during which the constellation Cancer appears in the east at the setting of the sun, there would be no interruption to the light, but the whole month would be as a single day."

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Like as a virgin [1] riseth up, and goes,
And enters on the mazes of the dance ;
Though gay, yet innocent of worse intent,
Than to do fitting honour to the bride :
So I beheld the new effulgence come
Unto the other two, who in a ring
Wheel'd, as became their rapture. In the dance,
And in the song, it mingled. And the dame
Held on them fix'd her looks ; e'en as the spouse,
Silent, and moveless. "This [2] is he, who lay
Upon the bosom of our pelican :
This he, into whose keeping, from the cross,
The mighty charge was given." Thus she spake :
Yet therefore nought the more removed her sight
From marking them : or e'er her words began,
Or when they closed. As he, who looks intent,
And strives with searching ken, how he may see
The sun in his eclipse, and, through desire
Of seeing, loseth power of sight ; so I [3]
Peer'd on that last resplendence, while I heard :
"Why dazzlest thou thine eyes in seeking that,
Which here abides not ? Earth my body is,

[1] *Like as a virgin.*] There is a pretty counterpart to this simile in the Quadriregio of Frezzi.

Poi come donna, che fa reverenza
Lassando il ballo, tal' atto fè ella. Lib. iv. cap. v.
Then as a lady, when she leaves the dance,
Maketh obeisance, even so did she.

The same writer has another more like that in the text.

Come donzella, c' ha a guidar la danza,
Che a chi l' invita reverenzia face,
E po' incomincia vergognosa e manza,
Così colei, etc. Lib. iv. cap. ii.

[2] *This.*] St. John, who reclined on the bosom of our Saviour, and to whose charge Jesus recommended his mother.

[3] *So I.*] He looked so earnestly, to descry whether St. John were present there in body, or in spirit only; having had his doubts raised by that saying of our Saviour's: "If I will, that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?"

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In earth ; and shall be, with the rest, so long,
As till our number equal the decree
Of the Most High. The two [1] that have ascended,
In this our blessed cloister, shine alone
With the two garments. So report below."
As when, for ease of labour, or to shun
Suspected peril, at a whistle's breath,
The oars, erewhile dash'd frequent in the wave,
All rest : the flamy circle at that voice
So rested ; and the mingling sound was still,
Which from the trinal band, soft-breathing, rose.
I turn'd, but ah ! how trembled in my thought,
When, looking at my side again to see
Beatrice, I descried her not : although,
Not distant, on the happy coast she stood.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT

Saint John examines our Poet touching Charity. Afterwards Adam tells when he was created, and placed in the terrestrial Paradise; how long he remained in that state; what was the occasion of his fall; when he was admitted into heaven; and what language he spake.

WITH dazzled eyes, whilst wondering I remain'd ;
Forth of the beamy flame,[2] which dazzled me,
Issued a breath, that in attention mute
Detain'd me ; and these words it spake : "'Twere well,
That, long as till thy vision, on my form

[1] *The two.*] Christ and Mary, whom he has described in the last Canto but one, as rising above his sight.
[2] *The beamy flame.*] St. John.

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O'erspent, regain its virtue, with discourse
Thou compensate the brief delay. Say then,
Beginning, to what point thy soul aspires:
And meanwhile rest assured, that sight in thee
Is but o'erpower'd a space, not wholly quench'd;
Since thy fair guide and lovely, in her look
Hath potency, the like to that, which dwelt
In Ananias' hand."[1] I answering thus:
"Be to mine eyes the remedy, or late
Or early, at her pleasure; for they were
The gates, at which she enter'd, and did light
Her never-dying fire. My wishes here
Are centred: in this palace is the weal,
That Alpha and Omega is, to all
The lessons love can read me." Yet again
The voice, which had dispersed my fear when dazed
With that excess, to converse urged, and spake:
"Behoves thee sift more narrowly thy terms;
And say, who level'd at this scope thy bow."
"Philosophy," said I, "hath arguments,
And this place hath authority enough,
To imprint in me such love: for, of constraint,
Good, inasmuch as we perceive the good,
Kindles our love; and in degree the more,
As it comprises more of goodness in 't.
The essence then, where such advantage is,
That each good, found without it, is nought else
But of his light the beam, must needs attract
The soul of each one, loving, who the truth
Discerns, on which this proof is built. Such truth
Learn I from him,[2] who shows me the first love

[1] *Ananias' hand.*] Who, by putting his hand on St. Paul, restored his sight. *Acts*, ix. 17.

[2] *From him.*] Some suppose that Plato is here meant, who, in his Banquet, makes Phædrus say: ὁμολογεῖται ὁ Ἔρως ἐν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις εἶναι, πρεσβυτάτος δὲ ὤν, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν

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Of all intelligential substances
Eternal: from his voice I learn, whose word
Is truth; that of himself to Moses saith,
'I will make[1] all my good before thee pass:'
Lastly, from thee I learn, who chief proclaim'st
E'en at the outset[2] of thy heralding,
In mortal ears the mystery of heaven."
"Through human wisdom, and the authority
Therewith agreeing," heard I answer'd, "keep
The choicest of thy love for God. But say,
If thou yet other cords within thee feel'st,
That draw thee towards him; so that thou report
How many are the fangs, with which this love
Is grappled to thy soul." I did not miss,
To what intent the eagle of our Lord[3]
Had pointed his demand; yea, noted well
The avowal which he led to; and resumed:
"All grappling bonds, that knit the heart to God,
Confederate to make fast our charity.
The being of the world; and mine own being;
The death which He endured, that I should live;
And that, which all the faithful hope, as I do;
To the foremention'd lively knowledge join'd;
Have from the sea of ill love saved my bark,
And on the coast secured it of the right.
As for the leaves,[4] that in the garden bloom,
My love for them is great, as is the good
Dealt by the eternal hand, that tends them all."

αἰτιός ἐστιν. "Love is confessedly amongst the eldest of beings; and being the eldest, is the cause to us of the greatest goods." Plat. Op. tom. x. p. 177. Bip. ed. Others have understood it of Aristotle; and others, of the writer who goes by the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, referred to in the twenty-eighth Canto.

[1] *I will make.*] Exodus, xxxiii. 19.
[2] *At the outset.*] John, i. 1, etc.
[3] *The eagle of our Lord.*] St. John.
[4] *The leaves.*] Created beings.

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I ended : and therewith a song most sweet
Rang through the spheres ; and "Holy, holy, holy,"
Accordant with the rest, my lady sang.
And as a sleep is broken and dispersed
Through sharp encounter of the nimble light,
With the eye's spirit running forth to meet
The ray, from membrane on to membrane urged ;
And the upstartled wight loathes that he sees ;
So, at his sudden waking, he misdeems
Of all around him, till assurance waits
On better judgment : thus the saintly dame
Drove from before mine eyes the motes away,
With the resplendence of her own, that cast
Their brightness downward, thousand miles below.
Whence I my vision, clearer than before,
Recover'd ; and well nigh astounded, ask'd
Of a fourth light, that now with us I saw.
And Beatrice : "The first living soul,[1]
That ever the first virtue framed, admires
Within these rays his Maker." Like the leaf,
That bows its lithe top till the blast is blown ;
By its own virtue rear'd, then stands aloof :
So I, the whilst she said, awe-stricken bow'd.
Then eagerness to speak embolden'd me ;
And I began : "O fruit ! that wast alone
Mature, when first engender'd ; ancient father !
That doubly seest in every wedded bride
Thy daughter, by affinity and blood ;
Devoutly as I may, I pray thee hold
Converse with me : my will thou seest : and I,
More speedily to hear thee, tell it not."
It chanceth oft some animal bewrays,

[1] *The first living soul.*] Adam.

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Through the sleek covering [1] of his furry coat,
The fondness, that stirs in him, and conforms
His outside seeming to the cheer within :
And in like guise was Adam's spirit moved
To joyous mood, that through the covering shone,
Transparent, when to pleasure me it spake :
" No need thy will be told, which I untold
Better discern, than thou whatever thing
Thou hold'st most certain : for that will I see
In Him, who is truth's mirror ; and Himself,
Parhelion [2] unto all things, and nought else,
To Him. This wouldst thou hear : how long since, God
Placed me in that high garden, from whose bounds
She led me up this ladder, steep and long ;
What space endured my season of delight ;
Whence truly sprang the wrath that banish'd me ;
And what the language, which I spake and framed.
Not that I tasted [3] of the tree, my son,
Was in itself the cause of that exile,
But only my transgressing of the mark

[1] *Covering.*] Lombardi's explanation of this passage is somewhat ludicrous. By " un animal coverto," he understands, not an animal in its natural covering of fur or hair, but one drest up with clothes, as a dog, for instance, " so clad for sport " ; " un cane per trastullo coperto ". Chaucer describes, as one of the tokens of pleasure in a dog, " the smoothing down of his hairs ".

It came and crept to me as low,
Right as it had me yknow,
Held down his head, and joyned his eares
And laid all smooth downe his heares.

The Dreame of Chaucer, or Book of the Duchesse, Ed. 1602, fol. 229.

[2] *Parhelion.*] Who enlightens and comprehends all things ; but is himself enlightened and comprehended by none.

[3] *Not that I tasted.*] So Frezzi :—

——— per colpa fù l' uom messo in bando,
Non solamente per gustar del pomo ;
Ma perch' e' trapassò di Dio il comando.
Il Quadriv. lib. iv. cap. 1.

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Assign'd me. There, whence [1] at thy lady's hest
The Mantuan moved him, still was I debarr'd
This council, till the sun had made complete,
Four thousand and three hundred rounds and twice,
His annual journey ; and, through every light
In his broad pathway, saw I him return,
Thousand save seventy times, the whilst I dwelt
Upon the earth. The language [2] I did use
Was worn away, or ever Nimrod's race
Their unaccomplishable work began.
For nought,[3] that man inclines to, e'er was lasting ;
Left by his reason free, and variable
As is the sky that sways him. That he speaks,
Is nature's prompting : whether thus, or thus,
She leaves to you, as ye do most affect it.
Ere I descended into hell's abyss,
El [4] was the name on earth of the Chief Good,
Whose joy enfolds me : Eli then 'twas call'd.
And so beseemeth : for, in mortals, use [5]
Is as the leaf upon the bough : that goes,

[1] *Whence.*] That is, from Limbo. See Hell, Canto ii. 53. Adam says that 5232 years elapsed from his creation to the time of his deliverance, which followed the death of Christ.

[2] *The language.*] Hac forma locutionis locutus est Adam, hac forma locuti sunt omnes posteri ejus usque ad ædificationem turris Babel. De Vulg. Eloq. lib. i. cap. vi. "This form of speech Adam used; this, all his posterity until the building of the tower of Babel."

[3] *For nought.*] There is a similar passage in the De Vulg. Eloq. lib. i. cap. ix. "Since, therefore, all our language, except that which was created together with the first man by God, has been repaired according to our own will and pleasure, after that confusion, which was nothing else than a forgetfulness of the former; and since man is a being most unstable and variable, our language can neither be lasting nor continuous; but, like other things which belong to us, as customs and dress, must be varied by distances of places and times."

[4] *El.*] Some read *Un*, "One," instead of *El*: but the latter of these readings is confirmed by a passage from Dante's Treatise de Vulg. Eloq. lib. i. cap. 4. "Quod prius vox primi loquentis sonaverit, viro sanæ mentis in promptu esse non dubito ipsum fuisse quod Deus est, videlicet El." St. Isidore in the Origines, lib. vii. cap. i., had said, "Primum apud Hebræos Dei nomen El dicitur"

[5] *Use.*] From Horace, Ars Poet. 62.

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And other comes instead. Upon the mount
Most high above the waters, all my life,[1]
Both innocent and guilty, did but reach
From the first hour, to that which cometh next
(As the sun changes quarter) to the sixth."

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT

Saint Peter bitterly rebukes the covetousness of his successors in the apostolic see, while all the heavenly host sympathize in his indignation: they then vanish upwards. Beatrice bids Dante again cast his view below. Afterwards they are borne into the ninth heaven, of which she shows him the nature and properties; blaming the perverseness of man, who places his will on low and perishable things.

THEN "Glory to the Father, to the Son,
And to the Holy Spirit," rang aloud
Throughout all Paradise; that with the song
My spirit reel'd, so passing sweet the strain.
And what I saw was equal ecstasy:
One universal smile[2] it seem'd of all things;
Joy past compare; gladness unutterable;
Imperishable life of peace and love;
Exhaustless riches, and unmeasured bliss.

[1] *All my life.*] "I remained in the terrestrial Paradise only to the seventh hour." In the Historia Scolastica of Petrus Comestor, it is said of our first parents: "Quidam tradunt eos fuisse in Paradiso septem horas." f. 9. ed. Par. 1513, 4to.

[2] *One universal smile.*]

Ivi ogni cosa intorno m' assembrava
Un' allegrezza di giocondo riso.
Frezzi, Il Quadrir. lib. iv. cap. ii.

—— all things smiled.
Milton, P. L. b. viii. 265.

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Before mine eyes stood the four torches[1] lit :
And that,[2] which first had come, began to wax
In brightness ; and, in semblance, such became,
As Jove might be, if he and Mars were birds,
And interchanged their plumes. Silence ensued,
Through the blest quire ; by Him, who here appoints
Vicissitude of ministry, enjoin'd ;
When thus I heard : "Wonder not, if my hue
Be changed ; for, while I speak, these shalt thou see
All in like manner change with me. My place
He[3] who usurps on earth (my place, ay, mine,
Which in the presence of the Son of God
Is void), the same hath made my cemetery
A common sewer of puddle and of blood :
The more below his triumph, who from hence
Malignant fell." Such colour,[4] as the sun,
At eve or morning, paints an adverse cloud,
Then saw I sprinkled over all the sky.
And as the unblemish'd dame, who, in herself
Secure of censure, yet at bare report
Of other's failing, shrinks with maiden fear ;
So Beatrice, in her semblance, changed :
And such eclipse in heaven, methinks, was seen,
When the Most Holy suffer'd. Then the words
Proceeded, with voice, alter'd from itself
So clean, the semblance did not alter more.
"Not to this end was Christ's spouse with my blood,

[1] *Four torches.*] St. Peter, St. James, St. John, and Adam.
[2] *That.*] St. Peter, who looked as the planet Jupiter would, if it assumed the sanguine appearance of Mars.
[3] *He.*] Boniface VIII.
[4] *Such colour.*] Qui color infectis adversi solis ab ictu,
Nubibus esse solet; aut purpureæ Auroræ.
. . . *Ovid, Met.* lib. iii. 184.

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With that of Linus, and of Cletus,[1] fed ;
That she might serve for purchase of base gold :
But for the purchase of this happy life,
Did Sextus, Pius, and Callixtus bleed,
And Urban ;[2] they, whose doom was not without
Much weeping seal'd. No purpose was of ours,[3]
That on the right hand of our successors,
Part of the Christian people should be set,
And part upon their left ; nor that the keys,
Which were vouchsafed me, should for ensign serve
Unto the banners, that do levy war
On the baptized : nor I, for sigil-mark,
Set upon sold and lying privileges :
Which makes me oft to bicker and turn red.
In shepherd's clothing, greedy wolves[4] below
Range wide o'er all the pastures. Arm of God !
Why longer sleep'st thou ? Cahorsines and Gascons[5]
Prepare to quaff our blood. O good beginning !
To what a vile conclusion must thou stoop.
But the high providence, which did defend,
Through Scipio, the world's empery for Rome,
Will not delay its succour : and thou, son,[6]

[1] *Of Linus, and of Cletus.*] Bishops of Rome in the first century.

[2] *Did Sextus, Pius, and Callixtus bleed, And Urban.*] The former two, bishops of the same see, in the second; and the others, in the fourth century.

[3] *No purpose was of ours.*] "We did not intend that our successors should take any part in the political divisions among Christians; or that my figure (the seal of St. Peter) should serve as a mark to authorise iniquitous grants and privileges."

[4] *Wolves.*] Wolves shall succeed to teachers, grievous wolves. *Milton, P. L.* b. xii. 508.

[5] *Cahorsines and Gascons.*] He alludes to Jacques d'Euse, a native of Cahors, who filled the papal chair in 1316, after it had been two years vacant, and assumed the name of John XXII., and to Clement V. a Gascon, of whom see Hell, Canto xix. 86, and note.

[6] *Thou, son.*] Beatrus Petrus—multaque locutus est, et docuit me de veteri testamento, *de hominibus etiam adhuc in seculo adhuc viventibus plura peccata intonuit mihi*, precepitque, ut ea quæ de illis audieram eis referrem. *Alberici Visio*, § 45.

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Who through thy mortal weight shalt yet again
Return below, open thy lips, nor hide
What is by me not hidden." As a flood
Of frozen vapours streams adown the air,
What time the she-goat [1] with her skiey horn
Touches the sun ; so saw I there stream wide
The vapours, who with us had linger'd late,
And with glad triumph deck the ethereal cope.
Onward my sight their semblances pursued ;
So far pursued, as till the space between
From its reach sever'd them : whereat the guide
Celestial, marking me no more intent
On upward gazing, said, "Look down, and see
What circuit thou hast compast." From the hour [2]
When I before had cast my view beneath,
All the first region overpast I saw,
Which from the midmost to the boundary winds ;
That onward, thence, from Gades,[3] I beheld
The unwise passage of Laertes' son ;
And hitherward the shore,[4] where thou, Europa,
Madest thee a joyful burden ; and yet more
Of this dim spot had seen, but that the sun,[5]
A constellation off and more, had ta'en
His progress in the zodiac underneath.
Then by the spirit, that doth never leave
Its amorous dalliance with my lady's looks,
Back with redoubled ardour were mine eyes

[1] *The she-goat.*] When the sun is in Capricorn.
[2] *From the hour.*] Since he had last looked (see Canto xxii.) he perceived that he had past from the meridian circle to the eastern horizon; the half of our hemisphere, and a quarter of the heaven.
[3] *From Gades.*] See Hell, Canto xxvi. 106.
[4] *The shore.*] Phœnicia, where Europa, the daughter of Agenor, mounted on the back of Jupiter, in his shape of a bull.
[5] *The sun.*] Dante was in the constellation of Gemini, and the sun in Aries. There was, therefore, part of those two constellations, and the whole of Taurus, between them.

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Led unto her : and from her radiant smiles,
Whenas I turn'd me, pleasure so divine
Did lighten on me, that whatever bait
Or art or nature in the human flesh,
Or in its limn'd resemblance, can combine
Through greedy eyes to take the soul withal,
Were, to her beauty, nothing. Its boon influence
From the fair nest of Leda [1] rapt me forth,
And wafted on into the swiftest heaven.
What place for entrance Beatrice chose,
I may not say ; so uniform was all,
Liveliest and loftiest. She my secret wish
Divined ; and, with such gladness, that God's love
Seem'd from her visage shining, thus began :
" Here is the goal, whence motion on his race
Starts : motionless the centre, and the rest
All moved around. Except the soul divine,
Place in this heaven is none ; the soul divine,
Wherein the love, which ruleth o'er its orb,
Is kindled, and the virtue, that it sheds :
One circle, light and love, enclasping it,
As this doth clasp the others ; and to Him,
Who draws the bound, its limit only known.
Measured itself by none, it doth divide
Motion to all, counted unto them forth,
As by the fifth or half ye count forth ten.
The vase, wherein time's roots [2] are plunged, thou seest :
Look elsewhere for the leaves. O mortal lust !
That canst not lift thy head above the waves
Which whelm and sink thee down. The will in man
Bears goodly blossoms ; but its ruddy promise

[1] *The fair nest of Leda.*] "From the Gemini"; thus called, because Leda was the mother of the twins, Castor and Pollux.

[2] *Time's roots.*] "Here," says Beatrice, "are the roots, from whence time springs: for the parts, into which it is divided, the

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Is, by the dripping of perpetual rain,
Made mere abortion : faith and innocence
Are met with but in babes ; each taking leave,
Ere cheeks with down are sprinkled : he, that fasts
While yet a stammerer, with his tongue let loose
Gluts every food alike in every moon :
One, yet a babbler, loves and listens to
His mother ; but no sooner hath free use
Of speech, than he doth wish her in her grave.
So suddenly doth the fair child of him,[1]
Whose welcome is the morn and eve his parting,
To negro blackness change her virgin white.
" Thou, to abate thy wonder, note, that none [2]
Bears rule in earth ; and its frail family
Are therefore wanderers. Yet before the date,[3]

other heavens must be considered." And she then breaks out into an exclamation on the degeneracy of human nature, which does not lift itself to the contemplation of divine things. Thus in the Quadriregio, lib. ii. cap. vi.

Il tempo, e 'l ciel, che sopra noi è volto,
È una cosa, e non voltando il cielo,
Ciò che da tempo pende saria tolto.

Time, and the heaven that turneth o'er our heads,
Are but as one ; and if the heaven turn'd not,
That, which depends on time, were done away.

1 *The fair child of him.*] There is something very similar in our Author's Treatise de Monarchiâ, lib. i. cap. 9. " Humanum genus filius est cœli quod est perfectissimum in omni opere suo. Generat enim homo hominem et sol juxta secundum in Naturali Auditu." This, therefore, is intended for a philosophical truth, and not for a figure, as when Pindar calls " the day " " child of the sun " :

Ἀμέραν
—— παῖδ' Ἁλίου. *Ol.* ii. 59.

2 *None.*] Because, as has been before said, the shepherds are become wolves.

3 *Before the date.*] " Before many ages are past ; before those fractions, which are dropt in the reckoning of every year, shall amount to so large a portion of time, that January shall be no more a winter month." By this periphrasis is meant " in a short time " ; as we say familiarly, such a thing will happen before a thousand years are over, when we mean, it will happen soon. Thus Petrarch :—

Ben sa ch' il prova, e fiati cosa piana
Anzi mill' anni. *Trionfo d' Amore*, cap. i.

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When, through the hundredth in his reckoning
dropt,
Pale January must be shoved aside
From winter's calendar, these heavenly spheres
Shall roar so loud, that fortune shall be fain [1]
To turn the poop, where she hath now the prow ;
So that the fleet run onward : and true fruit,
Expected long, shall crown at last the bloom."

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT

Still in the ninth heaven, our Poet is permitted to behold the divine essence; and then sees, in three hierarchies, the nine choirs of angels. Beatrice clears some difficulties which occur to him on this occasion.

So she, who doth imparadise my soul,
Had drawn the veil from off our present life,
And bared the truth of poor mortality :
When lo ! as one who, in a mirror, spies
The shining of a flambeau at his back,
Lit sudden ere he deem of its approach,
And turneth to resolve him, if the glass
Have told him true, and sees the record faithful
As note is to its metre ; even thus,
I well remember, did befal to me,

[1] *Fortune shall be fain.*] The commentators, in general, suppose, that our Poet here augurs that great reform, which he vainly hoped would follow on the arrival of the Emperor Henry VII. in Italy. Lombardi refers the prognostication to Can Grande della Scala: and when we consider that this Canto was not finished till after the death of Henry, as appears from the mention that is made of John XXII., it cannot be denied but the conjecture is probable. Troya (Veltro Allegorico, p. 186) suggests Matteo Visconti, or Castruccio Castracani, as the expected reformer.

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Looking upon the beauteous eyes, whence love
Had made the leash to take me. As I turn'd :
And that which none, who in that volume [1] looks,
Can miss of, in itself apparent, struck
My view ; a point I saw, that darted light
So sharp, no lid, unclosing, may bear up
Against its keenness. The least star we ken
From hence, had seem'd a moon ; set by its side,
As star by side of star. And so far off,
Perchance, as is the halo from the light
Which paints it, when most dense the vapour spreads ;
There wheel'd about the point a circle of fire,
More rapid than the motion which surrounds,
Speediest, the world. Another this enring'd ;
And that a third ; the third a fourth, and that
A fifth encompass'd ; which a sixth next bound ;
And over this, a seventh, following, reach'd
Circumference so ample, that its bow,
Within the span of Juno's messenger,
Had scarce been held entire. Beyond the seventh,
Ensued yet other two. And every one,
As more in number distant from the first,
Was tardier in motion : and that glow'd
With flame most pure, that to the sparkle of truth,
Was nearest ; as partaking most, methinks,
Of its reality. The guide beloved
Saw me in anxious thought suspense, and spake :
" Heaven, and all nature, hangs upon that point.[2]
The circle thereto most conjoin'd observe ;
And know, that by intenser love its course

[1] *That volume.*] The ninth heaven; as Vellutello, I think, rightly interprets it.

[2] *Heaven, and all nature, hangs upon that point.*] ἐκ τοιαύτης ἄρα ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις. *Aristot. Metaph.* lib. xii. c. 7. "From that beginning depend heaven and nature."

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Is, to this swiftness, wing'd." To whom I thus:
"It were enough; nor should I further seek,
Had I but witness'd order, in the world
Appointed, such as in these wheels is seen.
But in the sensible world such difference [1] is,
That in each round shows more divinity,
As each is wider from the centre. Hence,
If in this wondrous and angelic temple,
That hath, for confine, only light and love,
My wish may have completion, I must know,
Wherefore such disagreement is between
The exemplar and its copy: for myself,
Contemplating, I fail to pierce the cause."
"It is no marvel, if thy fingers foil'd
Do leave the knot untied: so hard 'tis grown
For want of tenting." Thus she said: "But take,"
She added, "if thou wish thy cure, my words,
And entertain them subtly. Every orb,
Corporeal, doth proportion its extent
Unto the virtue through its parts diffused.
The greater blessedness preserves the more.
The greater is the body (if all parts

[1] *Such difference.*] The material world and the intelligential (the copy and the pattern) appear to Dante to differ in this respect, that the orbits of the latter are more swift, the nearer they are to the centre, whereas the contrary is the case with the orbits of the former. The seeming contradiction is thus accounted for by Beatrice. In the material world, the more ample the body is, the greater is the good, of which it is capable; supposing all the parts to be equally perfect. But in the intelligential world, the circles are more excellent and powerful, the more they approximate to the central point, which is God. Thus the first circle, that of the seraphim, corresponds to the ninth sphere, or primum mobile; the second, that of the cherubim, to the eighth sphere, or heaven of fixed stars; the third, or circle of thrones, to the seventh sphere, or planet of Saturn; and in like manner throughout the two other trines of circles and spheres.

—— In orbs
Of circuit inexpressible they stood,
Orb within orb.

Milton, P. L. b. v. 596.

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Share equally) the more is to preserve.
Therefore the circle, whose swift course enwheels
The universal frame, answers to that
Which is supreme in knowledge and in love.
Thus by the virtue, not the seeming breadth
Of substance, measuring, thou shalt see the heavens,
Each to the intelligence that ruleth it,
Greater to more, and smaller unto less,
Suited in strict and wondrous harmony."

As when the north[1] blows from his milder cheek
A blast, that scours the sky, forthwith our air,
Clear'd of the rack that hung on it before,
Glitters; and, with his beauties all unveil'd,
The firmament looks forth serene, and smiles:
Such was my cheer, when Beatrice drove
With clear reply the shadows back, and truth
Was manifested, as a star in heaven.
And when the words were ended, not unlike
To iron in the furnace, every cirque,
Ebullient, shot forth scintillating fires:
And every sparkle shivering to new blaze,
In number[2] did outmillion the account
Reduplicate upon the chequer'd board.
Then heard I echoing on, from choir to choir,
"Hosanna," to the fixed point, that holds,
And shall for ever hold them to their place,
From everlasting, irremovable.

Musing awhile I stood: and she, who saw
My inward meditations, thus began:
"In the first circles, they, whom thou beheld'st,

[1] *The north.*] By "ond' è più leno," some understand that point from whence "the wind is *mildest*"; others, that "in which there is most *force*". The former interpretation is probably right.

[2] *In number.*] The sparkles exceeded the number which would be produced by the sixty-four squares of a chess-board, if for the first we reckoned one; for the next, two; for the third, four; and so went on doubling to the end of the account.

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Are seraphim and cherubim. Thus swift
Follow their hoops, in likeness to the point,
Near as they can, approaching ; and they can
The more, the loftier their vision. Those
That round them fleet, gazing the Godhead next,
Are thrones ; in whom the first trine ends. And all
Are blessed, even as their sight descends
Deeper into the truth, wherein rest is
For every mind. Thus happiness hath root
In seeing, not in loving, which of sight
Is aftergrowth. And of the seeing such
The meed, as unto each, in due degree,
Grace and good-will their measure have assign'd.
The other trine, that with still opening buds
In this eternal springtide blossom fair,
Fearless of bruising from the nightly ram,[1]
Breathe up in warbled melodies threefold
Hosannas, blending ever ; from the three,
Transmitted, hierarchy of gods, for aye
Rejoicing ; dominations [2] first ; next them,
Virtues ; and powers the third ; the next to whom
Are princedoms and archangels, with glad round
To tread their festal ring ; and last, the band
Angelical, disporting in their sphere.
All, as they circle in their orders, look
Aloft ; and, downward, with such sway prevail,
That all with mutual impulse tend to God.
These once a mortal view beheld. Desire,
In Dionysius,[3] so intensely wrought,

[1] *Fearless of bruising from the nightly ram.*] Not injured, like the productions of our spring, by the influence of autumn, when the constellation Aries rises at sunset.

[2] *Dominations.*]

> Hear, all ye angels, progeny of light,
> Thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, powers.
> *Milton, P. L.* b. v. 601.

[3] *Dionysius.*] The Areopagite, in his book de Cœlesti Hierarchiâ.

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That he, as I have done, ranged them ; and named
Their orders, marshal'd in his thought. From him,
Dissentient, one refused his sacred read.
But soon as in this heaven his doubting eyes
Were open'd, Gregory [1] at his error smiled.
Nor marvel, that a denizen of earth
Should scan such secret truth ; for he had learnt [2]
Both this and much beside of these our orbs,
From an eye-witness to heaven's mysteries."

[1] *Gregory.*] Gregory the Great. "Novem vero angelorum ordines diximus ; quia videlicet esse, testante sacro eloquio, scimus : Angelos, archangelos, virtutes, potestates, principatus, dominationes, thronos, cherubin atque seraphin." *Divi Gregorii, Hom.* xxxiv. f. 125, *ed. Par.* 1518, *fol.*

[2] *He had learnt.*] Dionysius, he says, had learnt from St. Paul. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the book, above referred to, which goes under his name, was the production of a later age. In Bishop Bull's seventh sermon, which treats of the different degrees of beatitude in heaven, there is much that resembles what is said on the same subject by our Poet. The learned prelate, however, appears a little inconsistent, when, after having blamed Dionysius the Areopagite, "for reckoning up exactly the several orders of the angelical hierarchy, as if he had seen a muster of the heavenly host before his eyes" (v. i. p. 313), he himself then speaks rather more particularly of the several orders in the celestial hierarchy, than he is warranted in doing by holy Scripture.

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CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT

Beatrice beholds, in the mirror of divine truth, some doubts which had entered the mind of Dante. These she resolves; and then digresses into a vehement reprehension of certain theologians and preachers in those days, whose ignorance or avarice induced them to substitute their own inventions for the pure word of the Gospel.

No longer,[1] than what time Latona's twins
Cover'd of Libra and the fleecy star,
Together both, girding the horizon hang;
In even balance, from the zenith poised;
Till from that verge, each, changing hemisphere,
Part the nice level; e'en so brief a space
Did Beatrice's silence hold. A smile
Sat painted on her cheek; and her fix'd gaze
Bent on the point, at which my vision fail'd:
When thus, her words resuming, she began:
"I speak, nor what thou wouldst inquire, demand;
For I have mark'd it, where all time and place
Are present. Not for increase to himself
Of good, which may not be increased, but forth
To manifest his glory by its beams;
Inhabiting his own eternity,
Beyond time's limit or what bound soe'er
To circumscribe his being; as he will'd,
Into new natures, like unto himself,
Eternal love unfolded: nor before,

[1] *No longer.*] As short a space, as the sun and moon are in changing hemispheres, when they are opposite to one another, the one under the sign of Aries, and the other under that of Libra, and both hang, for a moment, poised as it were in the hand of the zenith.

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As if in dull inaction, torpid, lay,
For, not in process of before or aft,[1]
Upon these waters moved the Spirit of God.
Simple and mix'd, both form and substance,[2] forth
To perfect being started, like three darts
Shot from a bow three-corded. And as ray
In crystal, glass, and amber, shines entire,
E'en at the moment of its issuing; thus
Did, from the eternal Sovran, beam entire
His threefold operation,[3] at one act
Produced coeval. Yet, in order, each
Created his due station knew: those highest,
Who pure intelligence were made; mere power,
The lowest; in the midst, bound with strict league,
Intelligence and power, unsever'd bond.
Long tract of ages by the angels past,
Ere the creating of another world,

[1] *For, not in process of before or aft.*] There was neither "before nor after," no distinction, that is, of time, till the creation of the world.

[2] *Simple and mix'd, both form and substance.*] Simple and unmixed form answers to "pure intelligence," v. 33 (puro atto), the highest of created being; simple and unmixed substance, to "mere power," v. 33 (pura potenzia), the lowest; and form mixed with substance, to "intelligence and power," v. 35 (potenzia con atto), that which holds the middle place between the other two. This, which appears sufficiently plain, Lombardi has contrived to perplex; not being aware of the high sense in which our Poet here and elsewhere uses the word "forma," as the Greek writers employed the term μορφὴ, and particularly Saint Paul, *Philippians*, ii. 6. The following is a remarkable instance in our language: "A man, though he have one form already, viz. the natural soul; it hinders not but he may have also another, the quickening Spirit of God." *Henry More, Disc.* xiii.

[3] *His threefold operation.*] He means that spiritual beings, brute matter, and the intermediate part of the creation which participates both of spirit and matter, were produced at once.

> For, as there are three natures, schoolmen call
> One corporal only, th' other spiritual,
> Like single; so there is a third commixt
> Of body and spirit together, placed betwixt
> Those other two. *Ben Jonson, Eupheme.*

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Described on Jerome's pages,[1] thou hast seen.
But that what I disclose to thee is true
Those penmen,[2] whom the Holy Spirit moved,
In many a passage of their sacred book,
Attest; as thou by diligent search shalt find:
And reason,[3] in some sort, discerns the same,
Who scarce would grant the heavenly ministers,
Of their perfection void, so long a space.
Thus when and where these spirits of love were made,
Thou know'st, and how: and, knowing, hast allay'd
Thy thirst, which from the triple question[4] rose.
Ere one had reckon'd twenty, e'en so soon,
Part of the angels fell: and, in their fall,

[1] *On Jerome's pages.*] St. Jerome had described the angels as created long before the rest of the universe: an opinion which Thomas Aquinas controverted; and the latter, as Dante thinks, had Scripture on his side. "Sex millia nondum nostri orbis implentur anni; et quantas prius æternitates, quanta tempora, quantas sæculorum origines fuisse arbitrandum est, in quibus Angeli, Throni, Dominationes, cæteræque Virtutes servierint Deo; et absque temporum vicibus atque mensuris Deo jubente substiterint." *Hieronym. In Epist. ad Titum*, 1. Paris edit. 1706, tom. iv. part i. p. 411. "Dicendum, quod supra hoc invenitur duplex sanctorum doctorum sententia, illa tamen probabilior videtur, quod angeli simul cum creatura corporea sunt creati. Angeli enim sunt quædam pars universi. Non enim constituunt per se unum universum, sed tam ipsi quam creatura corporea in constitutionem unius universi conveniunt. Quod apparet ex ordine unius creaturæ ad aliam. Ordo enim rerum adinvicem est bonum universi. Nulla autem pars perfecta est a suo toto separata. Non est igitur probabile, ut Deus cujus perfecta sunt opera, ut dicitur Deuteron. 32. creaturam angelicam seorsum ante alias creaturas creaverit. Quamvis contrarium non sit reputandum erroneum, præcipue propter sententiam Greg. Nazian. cujus tanta est in doctrina Christiana authoritas, ut nullus unquam ejus dictis calumniam inferre præsumpserit sicut nec Athanasii Documentis, ut Hieron. dicit." *Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theolog.* P. Ima. Quæst. LXI. art. iii.

[2] *Those penmen.*] As in Genesis, i. 1, and Ecclesiasticus, xviii. 1.

[3] *Reason.*] The heavenly ministers (motori) would have existed to no purpose if they had been created before the corporeal world, which they were to govern.

[4] *The triple question.*] He had wished to know where, when, and how the angels had been created, and these three questions had been resolved.

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Confusion to your elements[1] ensued.
The others kept their station : and this task,
Whereon thou look'st, began, with such delight,
That they surcease not ever, day nor night,
Their circling. Of that fatal lapse the cause
Was the curst pride of him, whom thou hast seen
Pent[2] with the world's incumbrance. Those, whom here
Thou seest, were lowly to confess themselves
Of his free bounty, who had made them apt
For ministries so high : therefore their views
Were, by enlightening grace and their own merit,
Exalted ; so that in their will confirm'd
They stand, nor fear to fall. For do not doubt,
But to receive the grace, which Heaven vouchsafes,
Is meritorious,[3] even as the soul
With prompt affection welcometh the guest.
Now, without further help, if with good heed
My words thy mind have treasured, thou henceforth
This consistory round about mayst scan,
And gaze thy fill. But, since thou hast on earth
Heard vain disputers, reasoners in the schools,
Canvass the angelic nature, and dispute
Its powers of apprehension, memory, choice ;
Therefore, 'tis well thou take from me the truth,
Pure and without disguise ; which they below,
Equivocating, darken and perplex.

1 *Elements.*] Alimenti was sometimes put for elementi, by the old Tuscan writers. See the notes to Redi's Bacco in Toscana, vol. i. p. 125. Redi, Opere, 8°. Milan. 1809. There is therefore no necessity for the alteration made in some editions.

2 *Pent.*] See Hell, Canto xxxiv. 105.

3 *Meritorious.*] The collator of the Monte Casino MS. boasts of that being the only text which has "meritorio," "concistorio," and "adjutorio". The reading is probably right, but I find it is in Landino's edition of 1484, and Vellutello's of 1544; and it may, perhaps, be in many others.

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"Know thou, that, from the first, these substances,
Rejoicing in the countenance of God,
Have held unceasingly their view, intent
Upon the glorious vision, from the which
Nought absent is nor hid: where then no change
Of newness, with succession, interrupts,
Remembrance, there, needs none to gather up
Divided thought and images remote.

"So that men, thus at variance with the truth,
Dream, though their eyes be open; reckless some
Of error; others well aware they err,
To whom more guilt and shame are justly due.
Each the known track of sage philosophy
Deserts, and has a by-way of his own:
So much the restless eagerness to shine.
And love of singularity, prevail.
Yet this, offensive as it is, provokes
Heaven's anger less, than when the book of God
Is forced to yield to man's authority,
Or from its straightness warp'd: no reckoning made
What blood the sowing of it in the world
Has cost; what favour for himself he wins,
Who meekly clings to it. The aim of all
Is how to shine: e'en they, whose office is
To preach the gospel, let the gospel sleep,
And pass their own inventions off instead.
One tells, how at Christ's suffering the wan moon
Bent back her steps, and shadow'd o'er the sun
With intervenient disk, as she withdrew:
Another, how the light shrouded itself
Within its tabernacle, and left dark
The Spaniard, and the Indian, with the Jew.
Such fables Florence in her pulpit hears,
Bandied about more frequent, than the names

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Of Bindi and of Lapi [1] in her streets.
The sheep,[2] meanwhile, poor witless ones, return
From pasture, fed with wind: and what avails
For their excuse, they do not see their harm?
Christ said not to his first conventicle,
'Go forth and preach impostures to the world,'
But gave them truth [3] to build on; and the sound
Was mighty on their lips: nor needed they,
Beside the Gospel, other spear or shield,
To aid them in their warfare for the faith.
The preacher [4] now provides himself with store
Of jests and gibes; and, so there be no lack
Of laughter, while he vents them, his big cowl
Distends, and he has won the meed he sought:
Could but the vulgar catch a glimpse the while
Of that dark bird which nestles in his hood,
They scarce would wait to hear the blessing said,
Which now the dotards hold in such esteem,
That every counterfeit, who spreads abroad
The hands of holy promise, finds a throng
Of credulous fools beneath. Saint Anthony
Fattens with this his swine,[5] and others worse

[1] *Of Bindi and of Lapi.*] Common names of men at Florence.

[2] *The sheep.*] So Milton, Lycidas.

> The hungry sheep look up and are not fed,
> But swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
> Rot inwardly.

[3] *Gave them truth.*] "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." *Mark*, xvi. 15.

[4] *The preacher.*] Thus Cowper, Task, b. ii.

> ——— 'Tis pitiful
> To court a grin, when you should woo a soul, etc.

[5] ——— *Saint Anthony*
Fattens with this his swine.] On the sale of these blessings, the brothers of St. Anthony supported themselves and their paramours. From behind the swine of St. Anthony, our Poet levels a blow at the object of his inveterate enmity, Boniface VIII., from whom, "in 1297, they obtained the dignity and privileges of an independent congregation". See Mosheim's Eccles. History, in Dr. Maclaine's Translation, v. ii. cent. xi. p. ii. c. ii. § 28.

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Than swine, who diet at his lazy board,
Paying with unstampt metal [1] for their fare.
" But (for we far have wander'd) let us seek
The forward path again ; so as the way
Be shorten'd with the time. No mortal tongue,
Nor thought of man, hath ever reach'd so far,
That of these natures he might count the tribes.
What Daniel [2] of their thousands hath reveal'd,
With finite number, infinite conceals.
The fountain, at whose source these drink their beams,
With light supplies them in as many modes,
As there are splendours that it shines on : each
According to the virtue it conceives,
Differing in love and sweet affection.
Look then how lofty and how huge in breadth
The eternal might, which, broken and dispersed
Over such countless mirrors, yet remains
Whole in itself and one, as at the first."

1 *With unstampt metal.*] With false indulgences.
2 *Daniel.*] " Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him." *Daniel*, vii. 10.

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CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT

Dante is taken up with Beatrice into the empyrean; and there having his sight strengthened by her aid, and by the virtue derived from looking on the river of light, he sees the triumph of the angels and of the souls of the blessed.

Noon's fervid hour perchance six thousand miles [1]
From hence is distant; and the shadowy cone
Almost to level on our earth declines;
When, from the midmost of this blue abyss,
By turns some star is to our vision lost.
And straightway as the handmaid of the sun
Puts forth her radiant brow, all, light by light,
Fade; and the spangled firmament shuts in,
E'en to the loveliest of the glittering throng.
Thus vanish'd gradually from my sight
The triumph, which plays ever round the point,
That overcame me, seeming (for it did)
Engirt [2] by that it girdeth. Wherefore love,
With loss of other object, forced me bend
Mine eyes on Beatrice once again.
If all, that hitherto is told of her,
Were in one praise concluded, 'twere too weak
To furnish out this turn.[3] Mine eyes did look
On beauty, such, as I believe in sooth,

[1] *Six thousand miles.*] He compares the vanishing of the vision to the fading away of the stars at dawn, when it is noon-day six thousand miles off, and the shadow, formed by the earth over the part of it inhabited by the Poet, is about to disappear.

[2] *Engirt.*] "Appearing to be encompassed by these angelic bands, which are in reality encompassed by it."

[3] *This turn.*] Questa vice. Hence perhaps Milton, P. L. b. viii. 491.

This turn hath made amends.

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Not merely to exceed our human ; but,
That save its Maker, none can to the full
Enjoy it. At this point o'erpower'd I fail ;
Unequal to my theme ; as never bard
Of buskin or of sock hath fail'd before.
For as the sun doth to the feeblest sight,
E'en so remembrance of that witching smile
Hath dispossest my spirit of itself.
Not from that day, when on this earth I first
Beheld her charms, up to that view of them,
Have I with song applausive ever ceased
To follow ; but now follow them no more ;
My course here bounded, as each artist's is,
When it doth touch the limit of his skill.

She (such as I bequeath her to the bruit
Of louder trump than mine, which hasteneth on,
Urging its arduous matter to the close)
Her words resumed, in gesture and in voice
Resembling one accustom'd to command :
"Forth [1] from the last corporeal are we come
Into the heaven, that is unbodied light ;
Light intellectual, replete with love ;
Love of true happiness, replete with joy ;
Joy, that transcends all sweetness of delight.
Here shalt thou look on either mighty host [2]
Of Paradise ; and one in that array,
Which in the final judgment thou shalt see."

As when the lightning, in a sudden spleen
Unfolded, dashes from the blinding eyes
The visive spirits, dazzled and bedimm'd ;
So, round about me, fulminating streams

[1] *Forth.*] From the ninth sphere to the empyrean, which is mere light.

[2] *Either mighty host.*] Of angels, that remained faithful, and of beatified souls; the latter in that form which they will have at the last day.

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Of living radiance play'd, and left me swathed
And veil'd in dense impenetrable blaze.
Such weal is in the love, that stills this heaven ;
For its own flame [1] the torch thus fitting ever.
No sooner to my listening ear had come
The brief assurance, than I understood
New virtue into me infused, and sight
Kindled afresh, with vigour to sustain
Excess of light however pure. I look'd ;
And, in the likeness of a river, saw
Light flowing,[2] from whose amber-seeming waves
Flash'd up effulgence, as they glided on
'Twixt banks, on either side, painted with spring,
Incredible how fair : and, from the tide,
There ever and anon, outstarting, flew
Sparkles instinct with life ; and in the flowers
Did set them, like to rubies chased in gold :
Then, as if drunk with odours, plunged again
Into the wondrous flood ; from which, as one
Re-enter'd, still another rose. "The thirst
Of knowledge high, whereby thou art inflamed,
To search the meaning of what here thou seest,
The more it warms thee, pleases me the more.
But first behoves thee of this water drink,
Or e'er that longing be allay'd." So spake
The day-star of mine eyes : then thus subjoin'd :
"This stream ; and these, forth issuing from its gulf,
And diving back, a living topaz each ;
With all this laughter on its bloomy shores ;

[1] *For its own flame.*] Thus disposing the spirits to receive its own beatific light.

[2] *Light flowing.*] "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb." *Rev.* xxii. 1.

Underneath a bright sea flow'd
Of jasper or of liquid pearl. *Milton, P. L.* b. iii. 518.

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Are but a preface, shadowy of the truth [1]
They emblem : not that, in themselves, the things
Are crude ; but on thy part is the defect,
For that thy views not yet aspire so high."
Never did babe that had outslept his wont,
Rush, with such eager straining, to the milk,
As I toward the water ; bending me,
To make the better mirrors of mine eyes
In the refining wave : and as the eaves
Of mine eyelids [2] did drink of it, forthwith
Seem'd it unto me turn'd from length to round.
Then as a troop of maskers, when they put
Their vizors off, look other than before ;
The counterfeited semblance thrown aside :
So into greater jubilee were changed
Those flowers and sparkles ; and distinct I saw,
Before me, either court [3] of heaven display'd.
O prime enlightener ! thou who gavest me strength
On the high triumph of thy realm to gaze ;
Grant virtue now to utter what I kenn'd.
There is in heaven a light, whose goodly shine
Makes the Creator visible to all
Created, that in seeing him alone
Have peace ; and in a circle spreads so far,
That the circumference were too loose a zone
To girdle in the sun. All is one beam,
Reflected from the summit of the first,

[1] *Shadowy of the truth.*]
Son di lor vero ombriferi prefazii.
So Mr. Coleridge, in his Religious Musings, v. 406.
Life is a vision shadowy of truth.

[2] ——— *the eaves*
Of mine eyelids.] Thus Shakspeare calls the eyelids "penthouse lids". *Macbeth*, act i. sc. 3.

[3] *Either court.*] See note to v. 44.

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That moves, which being hence and vigour takes.
And as some cliff,[1] that from the bottom eyes
His image mirror'd in the crystal flood,
As if to admire his brave appareling
Of verdure and of flowers; so, round about,
Eying the light, on more than million thrones,
Stood, eminent, whatever from our earth
Has to the skies return'd. How wide the leaves,
Extended to their utmost, of this rose,
Whose lowest step embosoms such a space
Of ample radiance! Yet, nor amplitude
Nor height impeded, but my view with ease[2]
Took in the full dimensions of that joy.
Near or remote, what there avails, where God
Immediate rules, and Nature, awed, suspends
Her sway? Into the yellow of the rose
Perennial, which, in bright expansiveness,
Lays forth its gradual blooming, redolent
Of praises to the never-wintering sun,
As one, who fain would speak yet holds his peace,
Beatrice led me; and, "Behold," she said,
"This fair assemblage; stoles of snowy white,
How numberless. The city, where we dwell,
Behold how vast; and these our seats so throng'd,
Few now are wanting here. In that proud stall,[3]
On which, the crown, already o'er its state

[1] *As some cliff.*] ——— A lake,
That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
Her crystal mirror holds. *Milton, P. L.* b. iv. 263.

[2] *My view with ease.*]
——— Far and wide his eye commands;
For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade,
But all sun-shine. *Milton, P. L.* b. iii. 616.

[3] *In that proud stall.*] "Ostenditque mihi circa Paradisum lectum claris et splendidissimis operimentis adornatum—in quo lecto quendam jacere conspexi cujus nomen ab Apostolo audivi, sed prohibuit ne cui illud dicerem." *Alberici Visio*, § 31.

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Suspended, holds thine eyes—or e'er thyself
Mayst at the wedding sup,—shall rest the soul
Of the great Harry, [1] he who, by the world
Augustus hail'd, to Italy must come,
Before her day be ripe. But ye are sick,
And in your tetchy wantonness as blind,
As is the bantling, that of hunger dies,
And drives away the nurse. Nor may it be,
That he, [2] who in the sacred forum sways,
Openly or in secret, shall with him
Accordant walk: whom God will not endure
I' the holy office long; but thrust him down
To Simon Magus, where Alagna's priest [3]
Will sink beneath him: such will be his meed."

[1] *Of the great Harry.*] The Emperor Henry VII. who died in 1313. "Henry, Count of Luxemburgh, held the imperial power three years, seven months, and eighteen days, from his first coronation to his death. He was a man wise, and just, and gracious; brave and intrepid in arms; a man of honour and a good catholic; and although by his lineage he was of no great condition, yet he was of a magnanimous heart, much feared and held in awe; and if he had lived longer, would have done the greatest things." *G. Villani*, lib. ix. cap. i. Compare Dino Compagni, Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. ix. lib. iii. p. 524, and Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo. l. ii. cap. 30.

[2] *He.*] Pope Clement V. See Canto xxvii. 53.

[3] *Alagna's priest.*] Pope Boniface VIII. Hell, Canto xix. 79.

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CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT

The Poet expatiates further on the glorious vision described in the last Canto. On looking round for Beatrice, he finds that she has left him, and that an old man is at his side. This proves to be Saint Bernard, who shows him that Beatrice has returned to her throne, and then points out to him the blessedness of the Virgin Mother.

In fashion, as a snow white rose, lay then
Before my view the saintly multitude, [1]
Which in his own blood Christ espoused. Meanwhile,
That other host, [2] that soar aloft to gaze
And celebrate his glory, whom they love,
Hover'd around; and, like a troop of bees, [3]
Amid the vernal sweets alighting now,
Now, clustering, where their fragrant labour glows,
Flew downward to the mighty flower, or rose
From the redundant petals, streaming back
Unto the stedfast dwelling of their joy.
Faces had they of flame, and wings of gold: [4]
The rest was whiter than the driven snow;
And, as they flitted down into the flower,
From range to range, fanning their plumy loins,
Whisper'd the peace and ardour, which they won
From that soft winnowing. Shadow none, the vast

[1] *The saintly multitude.*] Human souls, advanced to this state of glory through the mediation of Christ.

[2] *That other host.*] The angels.

[3] *Bees.*] Compare Homer, Iliad, ii. 87. Virg. Æn. i. 430. and Milton, P. L. b. i. 768.

[4] *Wings of gold.*] —— the middle pair
. . . . . .
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold.
Milton, P. L. b. v. 282.

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Interposition of such numerous flight
Cast, from above, upon the flower, or view
Obstructed aught. For, through the universe,
Wherever merited, celestial light
Glides freely, and no obstacle prevents.
All there, who reign in safety and in bliss,
Ages long past or new, on one sole mark
Their love and vision fix'd. O trinal beam
Of individual star, that charm'st them thus!
Vouchsafe one glance to gild our storm below.[1]
If the grim brood,[2] from Arctic shores that roam'd
(Where Helice[3] for ever, as she wheels,
Sparkles a mother's fondness on her son),
Stood in mute wonder 'mid the works of Rome,
When to their view the Lateran arose[4]
In greatness more than earthly; I, who then
From human to divine had past, from time
Unto eternity, and out of Florence
To justice and to truth, how might I chuse

[1] *To gild our storm below.*] To guide us through the dangers to which we are exposed in this tempestuous life.

[2] *If the grim brood.*] The northern hordes who invaded Rome. Landino justly observes, that "this is a most excellent comparison to show how great his astonishment was at beholding the realms of the blest".

[3] *Helice.*] Callisto, and her son Arcas, changed into the constellations of the Greater Bear and Arctophylax, or Boötes. See Ovid, Met. lib. ii. fab. v. vi.

[4] *The Lateran arose.*]

——— quando Laterano
Alle cose mortali andò di sopra.

This reminds us of the celebrated passage in Akenside:

Mark how the dread Pantheon stands,
Amid the domes of modern hands. *Ode* xviii. b. i.

It is remarkable that Dante has no allusion to the magnificence of Gothic architecture, which was then in so much perfection, and which, as Tiraboschi endeavours to show, by a passage in Cassiodorus, describing its peculiar character of slender columns and lanceated arches, was introduced into Italy so early as the end of the fifth century. See Stor. della Lett. Ital. tom. iii. lib. i.

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But marvel too? 'Twixt gladness and amaze,
In sooth no will had I to utter aught,
Or hear. And, as a pilgrim, when he rests
Within the temple of his vow, looks round
In breathless awe, and hopes some time to tell
Of all its goodly state; e'en so mine eyes
Coursed up and down along the living light,
Now low, and now aloft, and now around,
Visiting every step. Looks I beheld,
Where charity in soft persuasion sat;
Smiles from within, and radiance from above;
And, in each gesture, grace and honour high.
So roved my ken, and in its general form
All Paradise survey'd: when round I turn'd
With purpose of my lady to inquire
Once more of things, that held my thought suspense,
But answer found from other than I ween'd;
For, Beatrice when I thought to see,
I saw instead a senior, at my side,
Robed, as the rest, in glory. Joy benign
Glow'd in his eye, and o'er his cheek diffused,
With gestures such as spake a father's love.
And, "Whither is she vanish'd?" straight I ask'd.
"By Beatrice summon'd," he replied,
"I come to aid thy wish. Looking aloft
To the third circle from the highest, there
Behold her on the throne, wherein her merit
Hath placed her." Answering not, mine eyes I raised,
And saw her, where aloof she sat, her brow
A wreath reflecting of eternal beams.
Not from the centre of the sea so far
Unto the region of the highest thunder,
As was my ken from hers; and yet the form
Came through that medium down, unmix'd and pure.

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"O lady! thou in whom my hopes have rest;
Who, for my safety, hast not scorn'd, in hell
To leave the traces of thy footsteps mark'd;
For all mine eyes have seen, I to thy power
And goodness, virtue owe and grace. Of slave
Thou hast to freedom brought me: and no means,
For my deliverance apt, hast left untried.
Thy liberal bounty still toward me keep:
That, when my spirit, which thou madest whole,
Is loosen'd from this body, it may find
Favour with thee." So I my suit preferr'd:
And she, so distant, as appear'd, look'd down,
And smiled; then towards the eternal fountain turn'd.

And thus the senior, holy and revered:
"That thou at length mayst happily conclude
Thy voyage (to which end I was dispatch'd,
By supplication moved and holy love),
Let thy upsoaring vision range, at large,
This garden through: for so, by ray divine
Kindled, thy ken a higher flight shall mount;
And from heaven's queen, whom fervent I adore,
All gracious aid befriend us; for that I
Am her own faithful Bernard." [1] Like a wight,
Who haply from Croatia wends to see

[1] *Bernard.*] St. Bernard, the venerable abbot of Clairvaux, and the great promoter of the second crusade, who died A.D. 1153, in his sixty-third year. His sermons are called by Henault, "chefs-d'œuvre de sentiment et de force". *Abrégé Chron. de l'Hist. de Fr.* 1145. They have even been preferred to all the productions of the ancients, and the author has been termed the last of the fathers of the church. It is uncertain whether they were not delivered originally in the French tongue. *Ibid.* That the part he acts in the present poem should be assigned to him, appears somewhat remarkable, when we consider that he severely censured the new festival established in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, and "opposed the doctrine itself with the greatest vigour, as it supposed her being honoured with a privilege which belonged to Christ alone". *Dr. Maclaine's Mosheim*, vol. iii. cent. xii. part ii. c. iii. § 19.

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Our Veronica ;[1] and the while 'tis shown,
Hangs over it with never-sated gaze,
And, all that he hath heard revolving, saith
Unto himself in thought : "And didst thou look
E'en thus, O Jesus, my true Lord and God ?
And was this semblance thine ?" So gazed I then
Adoring ; for the charity of him,[2]
Who musing, in this world *that* peace enjoy'd,
Stood livelily before me. "Child of grace !"
Thus he began : "thou shalt not knowledge gain
Of this glad being, if thine eyes are held
Still in this depth below. But search around
The circles, to the furthest, till thou spy
Seated in state, the queen,[3] that of this realm
Is sovran." Straight mine eyes I raised ; and bright,
As, at the birth of morn, the eastern clime
Above the horizon, where the sun declines ;
So to mine eyes, that upward, as from vale
To mountain sped, at the extreme bound, a part
Excell'd in lustre all the front opposed.
And as the glow burns ruddiest o'er the wave,
That waits the ascending team, which Phaëton

[1] *Our Veronica,*] A vernicle had he sewed upon his cappe.
Chaucer, Prol. to the Canterbury Tales.
"Vernicle, diminutive of Veronike, Fr. A copy in miniature of the picture of Christ, which is supposed to have been miraculously imprinted upon a handkerchief preserved in the church of St. Peter at Rome. *Du Cange in v. Veronica.* Madox, Form. Angl. 1. p. 428. Testam. Joh. de Nevill. an. 1386. Item Domino Archiepiscopo Eborum fratri meo, vestimentum rubeum de velvet cum le verouike (r. Veronike) in granis rosarum de super Brondata (r. broudata). It was usual for persons returning from pilgrimages, to bring with them certain tokens of the several places which they had visited ; and therefore the Pardoner, who is just arrived from Rome, is represented with a vernicle sewed upon his cappe. See Pierce Plowman, 28, b." *Tyrwhitt's Glossary to Chaucer.* Our Poet alludes to this custom in his Vita Nuova, § 41. "Avvenne in quel tempo, etc." "It happened, at that time, that many people were going to see that blessed image, which Jesus Christ left to us for a pattern of his most beautiful form, which my lady now beholds in glory."

[2] *Him.*] St. Bernard.

[3] *The queen.*] The Virgin Mary.

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Ill knew to guide, and on each part the light
Diminish'd fades, intensest in the midst ;
So burn'd the peaceful oriflamb,[1] and slack'd
On every side the living flame decay'd.
And in that midst their sportive pennons waved
Thousands of angels ; in resplendence each
Distinct, and quaint adornment. At their glee
And carol, smiled the Lovely One of heaven,
That joy was in the eyes of all the blest.
Had I a tongue in eloquence as rich,
As is the colouring in fancy's loom,
'Twere all too poor to utter the least part
Of that enchantment. When he saw mine eyes
Intent on her, that charm'd him ; Bernard gazed
With so exceeding fondness, as infused
Ardour into my breast, unfelt before.

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT

Saint Bernard shows him, on their several thrones, the other blessed souls, both of the old and new Testament; explains to him that their places are assigned them by grace, and not according to merit; and lastly, tells him that if he would obtain power to descry what remained of the heavenly vision, he must unite with him in supplication to Mary.

FREELY the sage, though wrapt in musings high,
Assumed the teacher's part, and mild began :

[1] *Oriflamb.*] Menage on this word quotes the Roman des Royaux Lignages of Guillaume Ghyart.

Orflamme est une banniere
De cendal roujoyant et simple
Sans portraiture d'autre affaire.

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"The wound, that Mary closed, she[1] open'd first,
Who sits so beautiful at Mary's feet.
The third in order, underneath her, lo!
Rachel with Beatrice: Sarah next;
Judith; Rebecca; and the gleaner-maid,
Meek ancestress[2] of him, who sang the songs
Of sore repentance in his sorrowful mood.
All, as I name them, down from leaf to leaf,
Are, in gradation, throned on the rose.
And from the seventh step, successively,
Adown the breathing tresses of the flower,
Still doth the file of Hebrew dames proceed.
For these are a partition wall, whereby
The sacred stairs are sever'd, as the faith
In Christ divides them. On this part, where blooms
Each leaf in full maturity, are set
Such as in Christ, or e'er he came, believed.
On the other, where an intersected space
Yet shows the semicircle void, abide
All they, who look'd to Christ already come.
And as our Lady on her glorious stool,
And they who on their stools beneath her sit,
This way distinction make; e'en so on his,
The mighty Baptist that way marks the line
(He who endured the desert, and the pains
Of martyrdom, and, for two years,[3] of hell,
Yet still continued holy), and beneath,
Augustin;[4] Francis;[5] Benedict;[6] and the rest,
Thus far from round to round. So heaven's decree

[1] *She.*] Eve.
[2] *Ancestress.*] Ruth, the ancestress of David.
[3] *Two years.*] The time that elapsed between the death of the Baptist and his redemption by the death of Christ.
[4] *Augustin*] Bishop of Hippo, in the fourth century; the celebrated writer who has been mentioned before, Canto x. 117.
[5] *Francis.*] See Canto xi.
[6] *Benedict.*] See Canto xxii.

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Forecasts, this garden equally to fill,
With faith in either view, past or to come.
Learn too, that downward from the step, which cleaves,
Midway, the twain compartments, none there are
Who place obtain for merit of their own,
But have through others' merit been advanced,
On set conditions; spirits all released,
Ere for themselves they had the power to chuse.
And, if thou mark and listen to them well,
Their childish looks and voice declare as much.
"Here, silent as thou art, I know thy doubt;
And gladly will I loose the knot, wherein
Thy subtil thoughts have bound thee. From this realm
Excluded, chance no entrance here may find;
No more than hunger, thirst, or sorrow can.
A law immutable hath stablish'd all;
Nor is there aught thou seest, that doth not fit,
Exactly, as the finger to the ring.
It is not, therefore, without cause, that these,
O'erspeedy comers to immortal life,
Are different in their shares of excellence.
Our Sovran Lord, that settleth this estate
In love and in delight so absolute,
That wish can dare no further, every soul,
Created in his joyous sight to dwell,
With grace, at pleasure, variously [1] endows.
And for a proof the effect may well suffice.
And 'tis moreover most expressly mark'd

[1] *Variously.*] There can be no doubt but that "Intra se," and not "Entrassi," is the right reading at v. 60, of the original. The former seems to have been found in only a few MSS.; but it appears from Landino's notes, that he had intended to adopt it; although Lombardi has been, as far as I know, the first to admit it into the text.

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In holy Scripture,[1] where the twins are said
To have struggled in the womb. Therefore, as grace
Inweaves the coronet, so every brow
Weareth its proper hue of orient light.
And merely in respect to his prime gift,
Not in reward of meritorious deed,
Hath each his several degree assign'd.
In early times with their own innocence
More was not wanting, than the parents' faith,
To save them : those first ages past, behoved
That circumcision in the males should imp
The flight of innocent wings : but since the day
Of grace hath come, without baptismal rites
In Christ accomplish'd, innocence herself
Must linger yet below. Now raise thy view
Unto the visage most resembling Christ :
For, in her splendour only, shalt thou win
The power to look on him." Forthwith I saw
Such floods of gladness on her visage shower'd,
From holy spirits, winging that profound ;
That, whatsoever I had yet beheld,
Had not so much suspended me with wonder,
Or shown me such similitude of God.
And he, who had to her descended, once,
On earth, now hail'd in heaven ; and on poised wing,
" Ave, Maria, Gratia Plena," sang :

[1] *In holy Scripture.*] "And the children struggled together within her." *Gen.* xxv. 22. "When Rebekah also had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac (for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the promise of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth); it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger." *Rom.* ix. 10, 11, 12. Care must be taken that the doctrine of election is not pushed further than St. Paul appears to have intended by this text, which regards the preference of the Jews to the Gentiles, and not merely the choice of particular persons, without any respect to merit.

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To whose sweet anthem all the blissful court,
From all parts answering, rang : that holier joy
Brooded the deep serene. "Father revered !
Who deign'st, for me, to quit the pleasant place
Wherein thou sittest, by eternal lot ;
Say, who that angel is, that with such glee
Beholds our queen, and so enamour'd glows
Of her high beauty, that all fire he seems."
So I again resorted to the lore
Of my wise teacher, he, whom Mary's charms
Embellish'd, as the sun the morning star ;
Who thus in answer spake : "In him are summ'd,
Whate'er of buxomness and free delight
May be in spirit, or in angel, met :
And so beseems : for that he bare the palm
Down unto Mary, when the Son of God
Vouchsafed to clothe him in terrestrial weeds.
Now let thine eyes wait heedful on my words ;
And note thou of this just and pious realm
The chiefest nobles. Those, highest in bliss,
The twain, on each hand next our empress throned,
Are as it were two roots unto this rose :
He to the left, the parent, whose rash taste
Proves bitter to his seed ; and, on the right
That ancient father of the holy church,
Into whose keeping Christ did give the keys
Of this sweet flower ; near whom behold the seer, [1]
That, ere he died, saw all the grievous times
Of the fair bride, who with the lance and nails
Was won. And, near unto the other, rests
The leader, under whom, on manna, fed
The ungrateful nation, fickle and perverse.

[1] *The seer.*] St. John.

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On the other part, facing to Peter, lo!
Where Anna sits, so well content to look
On her loved daughter, that with moveless eye
She chants the loud hosanna: while, opposed
To the first father of your mortal kind,
Is Lucia,[1] at whose hest thy lady sped,
When on the edge of ruin closed thine eye.
"But (for the vision hasteneth to an end)
Here break we off, as the good workman doth,
That shapes the cloak according to the cloth;
And to the primal love our ken shall rise;
That thou mayst penetrate the brightness, far
As sight can bear thee. Yet, alas! in sooth
Beating thy pennons, thinking to advance,
Thou backward fall'st. Grace then must first be gain'd;
Her grace, whose might can help thee. Thou in prayer
Seek her: and, with affection, whilst I sue,
Attend, and yield me all thy heart." He said;
And thus the saintly orison began.

[1] *Lucia.*] See Hell, Canto ii. 97, and Purgatory, ix. 50.

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CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT

Saint Bernard supplicates the Virgin Mary that Dante may have grace given him to contemplate the brightness of the Divine Majesty, which is accordingly granted; and Dante then himself prays to God for ability to show forth some part of the celestial glory in his writings. Lastly, he is admitted to a glimpse of the great mystery; the Trinity, and the Union of Man with God.

"O VIRGIN mother,[1] daughter of thy Son!
Created beings all in lowliness
Surpassing, as in height above them all;
Term by the eternal counsel pre-ordain'd;
Ennobler of thy nature, so advanced
In thee, that its great Maker did not scorn,

[1] *O virgin mother.*]

Thou maide and mother, daughter of thy son,
Thou wel of mercy, sinful soules cure,
In whom that God of bountee chees to won;
Thou humble and high over every creature,
Thou nobledest so far forth our nature,
That no disdaine the maker had of kinde
His son in blood and flesh to clothe and winde.
Within the cloistre blisful of thy sides
Toke mannes shape the eternal love and pees,
That of the trine compas Lord and guide is,
Whom erthe, and sea, and heven out of rellees
Ay herien; and thou virgin wemmeles
Bare of thy body (and dweltest maiden pure)
The Creatour of every creature.
Assembled is in thee magnificence
With mercy, goodness, and with such pitee,
That thou that art the sunne of excellence
Not only helpest hem that praisen thee,
But oftentime of thy benignitee
Ful freely, or that men thin helpe beseche,
Thou goest beforne, and art hir lives leche.
Chaucer, The Second Nonnes Tale.

In the stanza preceding these, Chaucer alludes to St. Bernard's writings.

And thou that art floure of virgins all,
Of whom that Bernard list so well to write.

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To make himself his own creation ;[1]
For in thy womb rekindling shone the love
Reveal'd, whose genial influence makes now
This flower to germin in eternal peace :
Here thou to us, of charity and love,
Art, as the noon-day torch ; and art, beneath,
To mortal men, of hope a living spring.
So mighty art thou, lady, and so great,
That he, who grace desireth, and comes not
To thee for aidance, fain would have desire[2]
Fly without wings. Not only him, who asks,
Thy bounty succours ; but doth freely oft
Forerun the asking. Whatsoe'er may be
Of excellence in creature, pity mild,
Relenting mercy, large munificence,
Are all combined in thee. Here kneeleth one,
Who of all spirits hath review'd the state,
From the world's lowest gap unto this height.
Suppliant to thee he kneels, imploring grace
For virtue yet more high, to lift his ken
Toward the bliss supreme. And I, who ne'er
Coveted sight, more fondly, for myself,
Than now for him, my prayers to thee prefer
(And pray they be not scant), that thou wouldst drive

[1] *To make himself his own creation.*] Non si sdegnò di farsi sua fattura. I had translated this line,

Himself in his own work enclosed to dwell,

and have corrected it at the suggestion of my friend, the Rev. William Digby, who points out a parallel passage in Bishop Hopkins, on the Lord's Prayer, Ed. 1692, p. 190. "In Him omnipotence became weak; eternity, mortal; innocence itself, guilty; God, man; the Creator, a creature; the Maker of all, his own workmanship."

[2] *Desire.*] Lo his desire woll flie withouten winges.
Chaucer, Troilus and Cresseide, lib. iii.

Che 'l desiderio sempre move l' ale
Dietro all' oggetto della mente appreso.
Frezzi, Il Quadriv. lib. iii. cap. 3.

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Each cloud of his mortality away,
Through thine own prayers,[1] that on the sovran joy
Unveil'd he gaze. This yet, I pray thee, Queen,
Who canst do what thou wilt ; that in him thou
Wouldst, after all he hath beheld, preserve
Affection sound, and human passions quell.
Lo ! where, with Beatrice, many a saint
Stretch their clasp'd hands, in furtherance of my suit.

The eyes, that heaven with love and awe regards,
Fix'd on the suitor, witness'd, how benign
She looks on pious prayers : then fasten'd they
On the everlasting light, wherein no eye
Of creature, as may well be thought, so far
Can travel inward. I, meanwhile, who drew
Near to the limit, where all wishes end,
The ardour of my wish (for so behoved)
Ended within me. Beckoning smiled the sage,
That I should look aloft : but, ere he bade,
Already of myself aloft I look'd ;
For visual strength, refining more and more,
Bare me into the ray authentical
Of sovran light. Thenceforward, what I saw,
Was not for words to speak, nor memory's self
To stand against such outrage on her skill.

As one, who from a dream awaken'd, straight,
All he hath seen forgets ; yet still retains
Impression of the feeling in his dream ;
E'en such am I : for all the vision dies,
As 'twere, away ; and yet the sense of sweet,
That sprang from it, still trickles in my heart.

[1] *Through thine own prayers.*] Here again I am indebted to Mr. Digby for noticing the omission of "co' prieghi tuoi" in my former translation of the passage, which stood thus :

> That on the sovran pleasure he may gaze.
> This also I entreat of thee, O queen.

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Thus in the sun-thaw is the snow unseal'd ;
Thus in the winds on flitting leaves was lost
The Sibyl's sentence.[1] O eternal beam !
(Whose height what reach of mortal thought may soar ?)
Yield me again some little particle
Of what thou then appearedst ; give my tongue
Power, but to leave one sparkle of thy glory,
Unto the race to come, that shall not lose
Thy triumph wholly, if thou waken aught
Of memory in me, and endure to hear
The record sound in this unequal strain.

Such keenness[2] from the living ray I met,
That, if mine eyes had turn'd away, methinks,
I had been lost ; but, so embolden'd, on
I pass'd, as I remember, till my view
Hover'd the brink of dread infinitude.

O grace, unenvying of thy boon ! that gavest
Boldness to fix so earnestly my ken
On the everlasting splendour, that I look'd,
While sight was unconsumed ; and, in that depth,
Saw in one volume clasp'd of love, whate'er
The universe unfolds ; all properties[3]
Of substance and of accident, beheld,
Compounded, yet one individual light
The whole. And of such bond methinks I saw
The universal form ; for that whene'er
I do but speak of it, my soul dilates
Beyond her proper self ; and, till I speak,

[1] *The Sibyl's sentence.*] Virg. Æn. iii. 445.

[2] *Such keenness.*]

——— th' air
No where so clear, sharpen'd his visual ray,
To objects distant far. *Milton, P. L.* b. iii. 621.

[3] *All properties.*] Thus in the Parmenides of Plato, it is argued that all conceivable quantities and qualities, however contradictory, are necessarily inherent in our idea of a universe or unity.

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One moment [1] seems a longer lethargy,
Than five-and-twenty ages had appear'd
To that emprize, that first made Neptune wonder
At Argo's shadow [2] darkening on his flood.
With fixed heed, suspense and motionless,
Wondering I gazed; and admiration still
Was kindled as I gazed. It may not be,
That one, who looks upon that light, can turn
To other object, willingly, his view.
For all the good, that will may covet, there
Is summ'd; and all, elsewhere defective found,
Complete. My tongue shall utter now, no more
E'en what remembrance keeps, than could the babe's,
That yet is moisten'd at his mother's breast.
Not that the semblance of the living light
Was changed (that ever as at first remain'd),
But that my vision quickening, in that sole
Appearance, still new miracles descried,
And toil'd me with the change. In that abyss
Of radiance, clear and lofty, seem'd, methought,
Three orbs of triple hue, clipt in one bound: [3]

[1] *One moment.*] "A moment seems to me more tedious, than five-and-twenty ages would have appeared to the Argonauts, when they had resolved on their expedition." Lombardi proposes a new interpretation of this difficult passage, and would understand our author to say that "one moment elapsed after the vision, occasioned a greater forgetfulness of what he had seen, than the five-and-twenty centuries, which past between the Argonautic expedition and the time of his writing this poem, had caused oblivion of the circumstances attendant on that event."

[2] *Argo's shadow.*]

Quæ simul ac rostro ventosum proscidit æquor,
Tortaque remigio spumis incanduit unda,
Emersere feri candenti e gurgite vultus
Æquoreæ monstrum Nereïdes admirantes.
Catullus, De Nupt. Pel. et Thet. 15.

The wondred Argo, which in wondrous piece
First through the Euxine seas bore all the flower of Greece.
Spenser, Faery Queen, b. ii. c. 12. st. 44.

[3] *Three orbs of triple hue, clipt in one bound.*] The Trinity. This passage may be compared to what Plato, in his second Epistle,

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And, from another, one reflected seem'd,
As rainbow is from rainbow: and the third
Seem'd fire, breathed equally from both. O speech!
How feeble and how faint art thou, to give
Conception birth. Yet this to what I saw
Is less than little.[1] O eternal light!
Sole in thyself that dwell'st; and of thyself
Sole understood, past, present, or to come;
Thou smiledst,[2] on that circling,[3] which in thee
Seem'd as reflected splendour, while I mused;
For I therein, methought, in its own hue
Beheld our image painted: stedfastly
I therefore pored upon the view. As one,
Who versed in geometric lore, would fain
Measure the circle; and, though pondering long
And deeply, that beginning, which he needs,
Finds not: e'en such was I, intent to scan
The novel wonder, and trace out the form,
How to the circle fitted, and therein
How placed: but the flight was not for my wing;
Had not a flash darted athwart my mind,
And, in the spleen, unfolded what it sought.
Here vigour fail'd the towering fantasy:
But yet the will roll'd onward, like a wheel
In even motion, by the love impell'd,
That moves the sun in heaven and all the stars.

enigmatically says of a first, second, and third, and of the impossibility that the human soul should attain to what it desires to know of them, by means of any thing akin to itself.

[1] *Less than little.*] Che 'l pavon vi parrebbe men che poco.
Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, l. ii. cap. 5.

[2] *Thou smiledst.*] Some MSS. and editions instead of "intendente te a me arridi," have "intendente te ami ed arridi," "who, understanding thyself, lovest and enjoyest thyself"; which Lombardi thinks much preferable.

[3] *That circling.*] The second of the circles, "Light of Light," in which he dimly beheld the mystery of the incarnation.

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[1] The references are to Canto and line.

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